

HARVARD STUDIES IN EDUCATION

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE DIVISION OF EDUCATION

VOLUME I

THE OBERLEHRER

A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND
PROFESSIONAL EVOLUTION OF
THE GERMAN SCHOOLMASTER

BY

WILLIAM SETCHEL LEARNED, PH.D.

OF THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE
ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING



CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1914

COPYRIGHT, 1914
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

FOREWORD

WITH this volume the Division of Education at Harvard University inaugurates a series of publications to be called the HARVARD STUDIES IN EDUCATION. It is a happy circumstance that Dr. Learned's study of the social and professional evolution of the German schoolmaster should be the first contribution to this series; for the series has no other aim than to forward in some measure among American teachers that ideal of professional freedom through professional mastery which Dr. Learned here discloses as the goal of the long upward struggle of the *Oberlehrer*. The volumes of the HARVARD STUDIES IN EDUCATION will be chosen for their probable usefulness to those teachers, school officers, and others who are trying to win intelligent control over the complex and difficult problems of American Education.

HENRY W. HOLMES

PAUL H. HANUS

ERNEST C. MOORE

Committee on Publication.

TO MY SISTER THIS LITTLE BOOK
A BY-PRODUCT OF HER FAITH IS
INSCRIBED WITH ALL AFFECTION

INTRODUCTION

It is probably true that the greatest desire of every serious student of American education is to see the business of teaching American youth placed on an unquestioned professional basis. His vision is of a time when the teacher who shapes our careers shall be even more rigorously selected, more amply and purposefully trained, and more highly responsible for his performance than he who mends our bodies or untangles our personal relations. And this is no utterly forlorn hope. To be sure, such a consummation awaits not only the gradual unfolding and organization of our knowledge for the purpose; it awaits also that slow shift in judgment and conviction that marks the spiritual growth and refinement of a people. Happily both of these movements are to-day in unmistakably vigorous career in this country. From the one there is steadily gathering a conclusive content for training; a settled, scientific technique capable of producing definite and reliable results; from the other is rising with marked rapidity and certainty a general public sanction which alone, by provision for adequate reward, can make a high standard for the preparation of teachers effective.

In view of such evident progress at home, it is cheering and instructive to follow a similar and already more complete evolution in another nation where conditions of growth have favored a more normal development than in this country. It was the writer's privilege to spend somewhat less than two years in the German states of Prussia, Saxony, and Baden under circumstances that brought him into frequent and intimate contact with many representative secondary

schools and school-teachers. The experience impressed upon him, as it has upon many other American observers, some astonishing, and at first frankly discouraging, contrasts. As his stay was prolonged, however, increased acquaintance had indeed the effect of deepening his admiration for the great and thoroughly sincere achievement of German education, but it also disclosed the whole history of that achievement as possessing extraordinary interest and no little inspiration for America. The brief account here presented makes no pretension of adding material details to the American student's knowledge of German education. The writer has tried rather to seize, in but one of its phases, the significance of the German development, to interpret its spirit, and to discern its more general applications, having ever in mind the contribution that he would gladly make to the better understanding and guidance of our own educational future.

Of obligations to be acknowledged in the preparation of this monograph the foremost is due to the dean of educational historians and philosophers, the late Friedrich Paulsen. Familiarity with his written works had long been a satisfaction, and his death shortly before the author's arrival in Berlin came as an irreparable disappointment. In his *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts* Paulsen has followed the course of German education with most remarkable lucidity through a wealth and pertinence of illustration that furnishes a continual surprise. From these, appropriate selections have here been freely borrowed, whenever, as often occurred, the sources themselves were inaccessible. It is a matter for regret that at least a portion of this illuminating and wholly readable book has not been made generally available in translation.

Professor Otto Michael of Berlin and Professor Alexander Bennewitz of Leipsic gave timely suggestions and assistance

that are gratefully acknowledged. In revising the manuscript and preparing it for printing Professor Henry W. Holmes of Harvard University has given generously both indispensable criticism and advice; to him and to my friend Mrs. Harriet White Blake of Providence the treatment owes much of whatever comeliness it may possess.

WILLIAM S. LEARNED.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

FIRST PERIOD, TO 1750; THE SCHOOLMASTER

	PAGE
1. THE SCHOOLMASTER BEFORE 1500	3
2. THE REFORMATION SCHOOLMASTER, 1500-1600	14
3. THE PEDANT SCHOOLMASTER, 1600-1750	26

CHAPTER II

SECOND PERIOD, 1750-1871; THE NEW-HUMANIST OBERLEHRER

1. THE GREEK REVIVAL	31
2. REMAKING THE SCHOOLMASTER	38
3. BEGINNINGS OF AN OBERLEHRERSTAND	42
4. THE NEW-HUMANIST OBERLEHRER	51
5. PHILOLOGIE UND PHILOLOG	55
6. "FORMAL DISCIPLINE"	63

CHAPTER III

THIRD PERIOD, SINCE 1871; THE PROFESSIONAL OBERLEHRER

1. NEW MOTIVES	67
2. EDUCATIONAL READJUSTMENT	73
3. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT	86

CHAPTER IV

THE SOLIDARITY OF THE OBERLEHRER AND ITS PROFESSIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

1. FEATURES OF PRUSSIAN SCHOOL ORGANIZATION THAT PROMOTE SOLIDARITY	94
2. PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION	101

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY	120
-------------------	-----

CONTENTS

CHAPTER VI

AMERICAN APPLICATIONS

	PAGE
I. PROFESSIONAL TRAINING	124
2. CONDITIONS OF SERVICE	132
3. PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATION AND ADVANCEMENT	141
BIBLIOGRAPHY	146

THE OBERLEHRER

THE OBERLEHRER

CHAPTER I

FIRST PERIOD, TO 1750

THE SCHOOLMASTER

1. The Schoolmaster before 1500

EDUCATION since the Middle Ages owes the initial forms of its organization to the church. The life of a human institution as of a human individual presses instinctively and persistently toward self-preservation. The church is no exception; she early found the perpetuation of her doctrines and traditions the capital problem of her existence, and devised a system of schooling that served her purpose and became an indispensable phase of her activity. It was natural, therefore, that when all spiritual institutions but the church had been swept away in the flood of a vigorous but untutored humanity bursting in from the North, she should cling with especial tenacity to her schools as to the very condition of her life. Hence we find in the monk or canon who taught the language and mysteries of the church to rough novitiates, a figure of unusual dignity and significance. Representative of a powerful and well-organized institution wielding the supreme authority of earth and heaven, his position was secure and influential, and his prospects for promotion and honors unsurpassed.

As higher instruction was gradually developed and organized into universities, the old cathedral schools over which the ancient *scholasticus* or cathedral schoolmaster had presided, assumed little by little the rôle of secondary and

preparatory institutions. As their relative prestige declined, however, their number largely increased. With the growth of population churches multiplied rapidly, and with each church a school was usually established, subject, like the church, to the central control of the cathedral. Thus by the fifteenth century Cologne had as many as eleven such schools — enough to constitute a respectable school-system.¹ In the process of this transition the powers of the *scholasticus* were steadily enlarged until that dignitary appears clothed in all the prerogatives of the modern school superintendent, with jealously guarded rights of supervision, certification, and appointment. A liberal share of the tuition of each boy in the schools under his charge flows into his private purse. On the other hand he remains a permanent and distinguished official of the church. He is even eligible to the bishopric in his diocese, and not seldom receives it. Between the personage the *scholasticus* has now become and the schoolmaster who is the subject of this chapter there is little in common. The latter is rather the humble appointee who bears the burdens, but passes on an undue portion of the reward to his patron above.

In addition to the cathedral schools, two other slightly varying types of school were available to satisfy the mediaeval demand for instruction. Of these the cloister schools were similar in spirit and program to the cathedral schools, but remained single institutions attached to the monastic foundations. The second type, the town schools, like the universities, were the creation of the later Middle Ages. They rose from small beginnings in the thirteenth century in all centres where growing commercial and secular interests stimulated the impulse toward independent control of common education. They, too, were closely similar to the church schools in character, but were likely to be more

¹ Kaemmel, *Gesch. d. d. Schulwesens*, pp. 17, 18, 120 ff.

elementary. Their chief importance lies in the fact that over them was fought out the struggle between the town and church authorities. This crucial question of control and supervision, of nomination and appointment of teachers, involved very many German cities in the bitterest dissension for many years, though in the end the town almost invariably made good its claim.

These three types of school, the cathedral or church school, the monastery school, and the town school, are the institutions in which the youth of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries received its preparation for the university. The lower classes in each supplied those not destined for advanced studies with whatever general education they received. Schools for teaching the vernacular alone also existed,¹ and constituted the beginning of the elementary school system, but with these we are not here concerned. With this brief orientation in mind let us proceed to note the particular conditions that a fourteenth century scholar-schoolmaster was called upon to satisfy, and then observe the kind of individual available to fill the position.

His functions were four: administrative, educational, disciplinary, and religious. As administrator he was in fact "master" of the school. Appointed by the *scholasticus*, or in the case of the town school, by the town council for a single year or even for but three months, he was in the position rather of a concessionaire having well-defined rights, than of a public servant pledged to certain duties. The school was his enterprise to be carried on under given regulations for the profit there was in it, much as one might hire and operate a public mill. So long as the social order was preserved and he proved tolerable to the parents he was usually undisturbed by inspection. To be sure, he received a small salary which, if from the town council, might be considered

¹ Lewin, *Gesch. d. Ent. d. preus. Volksschule*, p. 2.

a return for his services as town clerk; if paid by the *scholasticus*, it pledged him to diligent coöperation in the service of the church. In either case this salary was insignificant, as he was likely to have been the lowest bidder. His further revenue came from the school entirely, either in fees or in tuition. Toward the close of the period the authorities took a hand in the internal affairs of the school through *Schulordnungen* and the appointment of inspectors, but this indicates the growing influence of Humanism. As proprietor, then, the *rector scholarum*, as he was usually called, presided over the school-house, together with the rooms above where he and his assistants made their home. The latter, he hired and paid himself, with the exception of the *cantor* who because of his intimate connection with the church services was usually appointed by the church or town council. Subject to certain conditions laid down by his superiors, he regulated the internal affairs of the school; he collected fees and tuition, attended to repairs and improvements, and was the responsible head of the business.

Educationally his task was a simple one compared with that of securing a favorable balance in cash. The latter required skill; the former did not. Latin was almost the sole subject of study. It was the language of the church and of the university; therefore the aim of the school was fundamentally to put a boy into possession of a reasonable facility in the use of this medium of all his subsequent learning. In the total absence of printed text-books, the method resolved itself into a verbal memorization of the grammar, a vigorous drill in examples of the rules, and transcription of the text from dictation. Anyone who had been through the performance, who had memorized the grammar and examples, and had transcribed sufficient texts, was beyond doubt familiar with the method and could "teach," i. e. pronounce the matter, either from memory or from the book,

and hear his words come back to him. To hasten the process, German was forbidden in the schoolroom. Consequently, no one could fail to work out a Latin dialect of some degree of intelligibility. Such was the procedure, and whether it were the "*tabulistae*" at their first lines of the Lord's Prayer in the lowest class, or the "*Alexandristae*" finishing the *Doctrinale* in the upper, it was always the same. With a bit of versification achieved by the older boys with the help of word lists and syllabaries, and a taste of arithmetic for the sake of reckoning church festivals, the curriculum was complete. No German, no history, no geography, no nature-study appears, except as the rare contribution of some unusually original and gifted master.

In respect to discipline, the duties of the master were more exacting. The harshness of the times, the lack of genuine intellectual training, the absence of any appeal to interest or self-control on the part of the pupil, all appear strikingly in the severity of punishment to which apparently even the best masters resorted. Martin Luther reports having been soundly thrashed fifteen times in one day.¹ He could with reason, therefore, cry out against the numbers of "bungling schoolmasters who with their storming and blustering, their cuffs and blows ruined fine natures, and treated children as the jailer treats thieves."² A passage in the Stuttgart *Schulordnung* for 1501, provides that fresh rods be brought in by the children from the forest every week.³ For these there was doubtless abundant need in settling up the daily and weekly accounts of the "*asinus*" and "*lupus*." The former was a wooden image of an ass hung about the neck of the class dunce in the morning and passed by him to any one heard to talk German; this meant a whipping for the

¹ Schmidt, *Gesch. der Pädagogik*, iii, p. 26.

² *Ibid.*

³ Müller, *Vor-und früh-reformatorische Schulordnungen*, p. 133.

one in whose possession it remained at the end of that day. The *lupus* was a pupil especially appointed to watch for those guilty of the same offence and to report them to the master. The necessity for strenuous measures of discipline appears in the provisions for the assistance of the master by the town constables in time of need.¹ Punishments for parents and others who injure or insult the schoolmaster point to the same conditions.² But the supervisory duty of the *rector scholarum* was not confined to the school. Day and night the pupils were subject to his authority, especially such as were not at home in the town — a condition applying to an astonishing number of “wandering scholars” who begged their way from town to town seeking shelter and support with the citizens or actually living in the school. This was an energetic and often troublesome element.

The fourth phase of the schoolmaster's activity, mentioned above, was the religious. This feature is, perhaps the most difficult for one with the modern point of view to reconstruct. The original nucleus of the church schools, and of the town schools as well, had been the choir which attended the numerous religious services and contributed indispensable assistance. As the school developed, its exercises remained inextricably involved with those of the church. Its continued practice of singing under the charge of a special officer, the *cantor*, was solely for the church's benefit. The hours for school exercises were carefully planned, and often greatly curtailed, to suit the needs of the church. The claims of weddings, funerals, masses and so on, were for centuries given precedence in the school program. Tradition was here the more binding because upon these performances there depended no inconsiderable portion of the rector's income, as well as that of his assistants. It

¹ Fischer, *Geschichte des deutschen Volksschullehrerstandes*, i, p. 29.

² Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.

became his personal duty, then, to marshal his boys and teachers for the processions, and to arrange for their singing at all festivals as well as to appear as disciplinarian at the regular services. An extract given by Kaemmel, from an endowment of 1449 for the church of Mary Magdalene at Breslau, indicates what the extraordinary demands on the choir of a popular church might amount to, even in the case of a single foundation. Of the rector and his assistants it was required:

that on the day before Corpus Christi they and their pupils should sing the vespers and matins complete, including the thanksgiving hymns; on Saturday of that week, and on the day before the feast of John the Baptist, when on a week-day, they should sing matins complete; it was expected further that on Corpus Christi, on the Sunday following, and on the Johannistag falling within this octave, they should sing the third horary service, and on every day of this week, a complete mass.¹

It might be added that this church had fifty-eight altars and one hundred and twenty-four chaplains, and that the number of masses to be said was unusually large.

This program indicates that the life of a successful schoolmaster of this period would not, at least, be lacking in variety. We now proceed to note what manner of man fills this position.

First, as to training. Kaemmel estimates² that after the fourteenth century, about one third of these schoolmasters possessed the degree of *magister* from some university, another third had reached the preliminary title of *baccalareus*, while the remainder had had little or no university instruction. In the cities, certainly by 1500, the higher degree was very generally required for an appointment as rector.³ This meant that for the space of from three to four

¹ Kaemmel, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

³ Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, i, p. 19.

years its possessor had listened to the exposition of the Aristotelian philosophy, comprising logic and physics for the degree of *baccalareus*, natural science, psychology, metaphysics, ethics, and politics for the *magister artium*; that he had participated in the customary disputations, and displayed his skill and erudition in a final exhibition which constituted the examination.¹ The classical literature had been practically untouched, and even the study of grammar had ceased with his own school preparation for the sciences of the university. The mistake of thus abandoning subjects that he would later undertake to teach was not recognized. The *magister* was a theologian, and if he had completed his two years of teaching at the university, as was often required, he had doubtless done advanced work at the same time in the theological faculty. His occupation as *rector scholarum* in a city Latin school was a purely secondary consideration, undertaken to bridge the gap between his university course and his expected appointment to a parish where he would enter upon his proper career. It was natural for him, therefore, even while schoolmaster, to take an active part in the services of the church, and in case he had received the preliminary consecration, to perform also the function of priest.

In the larger schools the rector might require several assistants, *baccalarii*, *soccii*, *locati collaboratores*, as they are variously called. The *baccalarii*, as the name indicates, would be such as had attained the first degree at a university, and might be waiting for a favorable opportunity to continue. The *locati* had rarely seen a university; if not simply older pupils receiving instruction in the higher classes at the same time, they were likely to be chosen from the numerous class of strolling scholars, seeking to turn their scanty acquirements to account. These sub-masters were naturally hired

¹ Norton, *Mediaeval Universities*, pp. 135 ff.

at a minimum salary; they were housed with the rector in the school building, and might be boarded at the home of some citizen. They were generally of an unreliable character, were continually changing, and not seldom required disciplinary treatment at the hands of the rector or town authorities.

The income attached to the teacher's position in this period appears to have been universally small and uncertain. The only guaranteed amount was the appropriation for the *scholasticus* or the *Schulrat* as mentioned above; by far the larger portion had to be painfully collected as it trickled in, a groschen at a time, in fixed tuition charges, customary fees, or alms thrown to the choir boys in the street. Cost of tuition varied greatly. In Lüneburg, 1482, the wealthy paid fourteen shillings, or about twenty-eight cents, a year; the poor, half as much.¹ At Hanover four shillings sufficed.² In Frankfort-on-the-Oder, the wealthy brought two groschen per quarter (not over four cents) to the schoolmaster, and as much to the *locati*. In Nuremberg in 1485 all special fees were commuted to a cash payment of twenty-five pfennige (about six cents) in place of the previous fifteen pfennige for tuition alone; the town authorities agreed at the same time to furnish the wood for heating.³ The fees that thereby disappeared were a general tradition and were not peculiar to Nuremberg. They included sums brought by the pupil in substitution for the still earlier offering of a candle, a stick of wood, or a piece of paper to repair the window; further, there was the fee for the New Year, for the cherry-stones brought to the master to put in his beer, and, finally, the *Austreibgeld*, — a fee in honor of an approaching vacation, which was acknowledged by the master with a friendly spank as the child crawled between his legs after the

¹ Kaemmel, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

² *Ibid.*

³ Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

final session.¹ This host of petty payments must have made the master's bookkeeping a complicated task. His board he frequently had with the parish priest, or with a citizen of the town, or he supplied his table from payments in food as commutation for tuition. The endowments of the church that were available as fees for regular and special services often proved more profitable than any other source of revenue, and of course served to bind the school closely to its parent institution.

In respect to social position the standing of the teacher was in a sense neutral. An able rector, teaching for a few years until he received his appointment to the secure and respected office of priest, was not altogether to be pitied. Many of the apparently forlorn conditions of the position were characteristic of the time as a whole. Still the work was not enviable, as is shown by the continual change in personnel; and when engaged in permanently by disappointed aspirants to the priesthood, or by non-clerical teachers who sought thus to support their families, it was commonly associated with poverty, if not utter misery. Thus Thomas Platter found it quite insufficient for his maintenance, and resorted to his rope-making and printing instead. The excessive publicity of the post, its exposure to criticism, and its uncertain returns made an early change desirable, and this very instability of tenure reacted in still further reducing the position in public esteem. Now and then fortune seems to have furnished a favorable exit, through the schoolmaster's position as town clerk, into the service of the city, and there appear occasional cases of schoolmasters who ultimately became the mayors of their towns.²

The question of what might be termed, in a modern sense, the inner efficiency of the teacher, does not exist at this period. To the modern view, all the conditions under which

¹ Kaemmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

he worked should have made him as weak, unhappy, and inefficient as possible. Yet it cannot be said that they did. The modern organic, subjective, ideal view of the world must give place here to the completely static, objective, and mechanical constitution of things as they appeared to the mediaeval mind. As has been pointed out, the schoolmaster was, in a sense, the proprietor of a purely business undertaking. The knowledge he had to dispense was doled out in easily measured quantities of a recognized standard quality, and could be passed over the counter by a diligent *locatus* almost as well as by the rector himself. For his profession the schoolmaster had no abstract ideals and needed none. As Paulsen remarks of the university teacher: "He had learned the trade as apprentice and journeyman, and had become a master mechanic; it was now his business to teach what he had learned."¹

The details of this early period have been surveyed in somewhat greater fullness than the relative importance of the period itself would warrant. There appear here, however, in their elementary and crudest form, certain features in the relations of the person and function of the schoolmaster that persist, with slight variations, well into the eighteenth century, and become characteristic of the entire early portion of his career. The first of these is the teacher's connection with the church and his dependence upon it. It was Friedrich August Wolf who put an end to this in 1783, and the separation was given the official seal in the examination ordinance of 1810. By reason of this connection throughout the intervening period, the school is an appendage to the church, an appropriate ante-room for trying out the qualities of the future priest. As might be expected under such circumstances, the work of the teacher is laborious and aimless, commanding slight recognition for

¹ *Op. cit.*, i, p. 32.

its inherent dignity. So Luther regarded it, and advised against it as a permanent calling; "— for the labor involved is very hard and is esteemed of little worth."¹ The second feature is the mechanical, *memoriter* method of instruction. This undergoes many modifications, and the content of the curriculum changes and broadens somewhat, but the essential spirit of the Latin instruction of the eighteenth century is strongly reminiscent of the *Doctrinale*. The form of discipline, too, remains practically unchanged. The rod rules supreme here until the apostles of New Humanism see the shame of it and put it away. Further, the relation of university studies to school subjects remains the same. What a man studies in the university is of no use in the school, and what he does in the school he abandons entirely when he goes to the university. The importance of this fact for those who prepare to teach is, of course, obvious. Finally, the social position of the schoolmaster remains in all important respects the same. The reforms of the late eighteenth century lift him from a level that is nearly as low as was that which he occupied in the fifteenth. It is remarkable to note how slightly these characteristics alter through nearly four hundred years. It will be sufficient, therefore, with this background and outline to go rapidly over the next two centuries or more, introducing certain new elements, and modifying details as they vary with new conditions.

2. *The Reformation Schoolmaster, 1500–1600*

The movements that did most to change the situation already described, followed hard upon the date that has been arbitrarily used to mark the close of the Middle Ages. One of these, the humanistic revival of learning, had already reached its zenith outside of Germany, and within the next twenty years came into full possession of the leading German

¹ Forstemann, Luther's *Tischreden* I, 2d Pt., p. 406.

universities. Just as the promise of a day of finer and freer intellectual ideals seemed about to be fulfilled, the new light was all but extinguished in the sudden religious paroxysm which seized Germany. For a time the country seemed lost to the cause of the new learning, but the peril was not real, and Humanism and Reformation merged into a great intellectual, social, and religious upheaval that turned up rich soil for the seeds of a later and finer culture. What conversion meant for Teutonic tribes — a purely formal initiation which, in later centuries, brought forth scholastic universities — that this double movement meant for Germany, and its true fruit appeared in the New Humanism of the nineteenth century. With this in mind it is easier to explain the relatively low degree of educational progress with which Germany emerges from the years of confusion.

The earlier "poet-humanists" and scholars who came north were too restless, too individual, or too unwilling to meet existing conditions, to be of immediate use to the schools. The feeling of one of the best of them was doubtless typical. When offered a fine school in Antwerp, Rudolf Agricola replied to his friend Barbirianus who conveyed the senate's proposal:

This school you offer is a bad business, both perplexing and distressing; the very sight of a school as one approaches is depressing and cruel, for what with its floggings, its tears, and the continual wailings that proceed from it, it invariably suggests a prison. What a misnomer is "school"! The name seems to have been given because of its utter contrast. For the Greeks mean by "schola," leisure, and the Latins, "sport" in an intellectual sense — but never was anywhere less of "leisure" or any greater contrast to "sport". The Greek comic poet Aristophanes hit it much more nearly when he called it *phrontisterion*, that is to say, a "house of cares". School for me? Hardly!¹

¹ *Agric. Opera ed. Alardus Köln*, 1539, ii, pp. 208, 215. Cf. Kaemmel, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

Only after the delicate and elusive product of Italian Humanism had been toughened by the Reformation into stout German school-stuff, did the new culture successfully make its way in the hands of a set of brilliant organizers and schoolmen, Trotzendorf in Goldberg, Neander in Ilfeld, Sturm in Strassburg, Wolf in Augsburg, and many others.

The man who did most to give a humanistic form to the education that his suspicious and reactionary friend Luther was urging upon the German cities, was Melanchthon. It is especially instructive to note with what clearness this keen-minded pioneer grasped the fundamentally progressive ideas of the new pedagogy — ideas of which only the few finest spirits, a Vittorino or an Erasmus, felt the significance, and which the mechanical, immature psychology of the time was unable to seize upon and develop. He says in his preface to Hesiod's "Works and Days":

I have always endeavored to place before you such authors as increase one's knowledge of things at the same time that they contribute largely to enrich expression. For these two elements go together, and, as Horace says, have entered into a sworn friendship, so that the one stands and is supported by the help of the other; for no one can express himself effectively if he has not equipped his thought with the knowledge of the best things, and knowledge halts without the light of appropriate expression.¹

This recognition of the value of an education received through contact with the material world became official in Prussia in 1900. To just what length Melanchthon himself would have carried it is uncertain, but the formula is correct.

A great world of new ideals had been discovered in the languages and literatures of ancient peoples, and these, seized upon and worked over, however narrowly, by the novel personal and religious motives bred in the Reformation, produced a new conception of education and a new pres-

¹ *Corpus Reformatorum*, xi, p. 112.

sure toward it. Luther's incessant appeal for more extensive popular instruction, as well as for the formal education of a new and efficient class of state officials, is an expression of this new attitude. The gradual extension of the course of study in schools to include subjects formerly given only in the university — dialectics, physics, geography, mathematics, — thus opening the way for the modern school organization, is further evidence. In some of the schools, a few courses of university grade were added for the benefit of the lower clergy, and in process of time a higher institute or even a university might appear. Thus the time was full of educational incentive and inspiration which in some respects considerably affected the teacher's task and position. His vocation became somewhat less a mechanical craft, somewhat more an intellectual profession.

With Humanism came inspection, perhaps the result of reasonable solicitude as to how the erratic "poet-schoolmasters" would get on. With the Reformation, concern for "sound doctrine" in the troublous times intensified the demand for supervision, and *Schulordnungen*, the country over, regulated both teacher and instruction in minute detail. Inspectors, chiefly priests, were appointed, and required to make regular visits. So in the Württemberg *Schulordnung* of 1559, it is ordered that the priest shall,

either alone, or, if necessary, with the bailiff and regular inspectors, visit the school at least once a month, and see how, and to what extent, these school-regulations of ours are carried out.¹

They were required also to hold an examination and supervise promotions. In the *Kursächsische Schulordnung* of 1580, the examination prescriptions are carried to great length.² It is apparent that the schoolmaster is no longer master within his own domain, but has become a public servant in a minutely regulated public institution.

¹ Vormbaum, *Evangelische Schulordnungen*, i, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

Educationally his task is more complicated than in the simple times of the previous century. A new pedagogical principle has appeared which demands the co-operation of the pupil. Thus, whereas before the boy had learned his *Doctrinale* passively so as to be able to take apart or reconstruct, piece by piece, the logical frame-work into which formal grammar had been fashioned, his business was now to produce real speeches on familiar topics; to imitate, that is, in new combinations of his own, the form and style of the classical writer put into his hand. This was undoubtedly a gain. Here was at least the possibility of introducing an aesthetic aim, and the process was attended by all the enrichment of actual knowledge which might come with the wealth of fresh information in these classical sources.

Such was Melanchthon's ideal, but a method which he could vitalize became in the average school a mere formula. The language of the Middle Ages had given place to classical Latin and Greek, but catechism, grammars, and rhetorical text books were still committed bodily to memory. Even the reading of authors came to the same thing. The teacher's exposition was followed by its repetition by the pupil, as nearly as possible word for word, on the following day; choice words and phrases were carefully culled and memorized, and later used as so many blocks in imitative rebuilding. According to the skill and fertility of the master, interesting information could be brought out by the way, but this never formed a necessary feature of instruction. Allowing, then, for the improvement of the intellectual conditions in general, a schoolmaster could be successful and still occupy relatively the same ground on which he had stood in the fourteenth century. The tools had changed, but the new required scarcely more intelligent handling than the old. A continuation and development of the correct principles of teaching, as advocated by Erasmus for example,

became therefore less and less the motive of settled practice. Even Sturm could see no objection to training young students in Demosthenes and St. Paul whether they understood or not. And Hieronymus Wolf stated the mournful conviction which, in general, has sheltered educational failure up to this day when he concluded:

Do what you will, the roots of learning will be bitter, and the sweetness of the fruit will be appreciated only in the ripeness of time.¹

It would be wrong, however, to conclude that even the masters themselves did not at times find the process intolerable. The sensitive Melanchthon wrote quite at length "*De miseriis paedagogorum*," drawing a distressing picture in great detail; he declares convict labor to be less wretched than that of the schoolmaster, and teaching to be a better symbol of fruitlessness than the task of Sisyphus; to teach a camel to dance or an ass to play the lyre were more profitable, as boys prefer digging in the ditch to studying Latin; and he closes too weary to enumerate the many evils left unmentioned.² And Wolf, the martinet mentioned above, breaks out in the essay there referred to:

Fortunate Romans, who had but one foreign language, Greek, to learn, and that not by instruction, but by intercourse with the Greeks — the easiest possible way. And still more fortunate Greeks, who, quite content with their own tongue, could, after a fair amount of practice in speaking and writing it, give themselves wholly to the study of the liberal arts and philosophy. But we have good reason to curse our luck, since a large number of our allotted years slip by while we are studying foreign languages, and all these obstacles and delays keep us from the Temple of Wisdom itself — for as a matter of fact Latin and Greek are not in themselves culture, but the gateway to it.³

As a relief from the relentless grinding at grammar, as well as to enliven the pupils' sense of classical form and style,

¹ Vormbaum, *op. cit.*, i, p. 465. *Augsburger Schulord.*, 1558, Anhang.

² *Corpus Reformatorum*, xi, pp. 121 ff.

³ Vormbaum, *op. cit.*, i, p. 457.

dramatic productions and declamations from old authors were introduced, and formed a permanent feature of school life until the eighteenth century. In them the master found his one productive sphere, and worked over a large part of classical and Biblical literature for material with which to enforce the lessons of Christian virtue and wisdom. The pupils were the performers, and pupils and master shared in the financial profits which came from an appreciative public.

The abolition of the "begging scholars", after 1520, brought some improvement to the discipline of the school, but the rod seems still to have been unmercifully applied. Trotzendorf made even bearded seniors tremble before his whip. Brunswick schools were permitted to use corporal punishment only on pupils below the age of seventeen; penalties were then commuted to money. The *Schulordnung* for Kursachsen, 1580, gives the following grades of punishment:

(1) The culprits shall be solemnly examined and warned of punishment; (2) they shall eat on the ground; (3) their usual food and drink shall be forbidden; (4) they shall be whipped; (5) they shall be placed in the dungeon; and finally, (6) they shall be expelled from school.¹

And the city of Brunswick puts in the regulations for its Latin school of 1535, the direction that each master shall "with rod in hand," take his place among the choir boys at church and maintain good order.

The religious duties of the rector and his assistants were increased, if anything, by the influences of the Reformation. With a readiness springing, perhaps, from the traditional hostility between the ill-yoked authorities of church and town the master of the town school was frequently the first to abandon the old doctrine and to help establish the new. The persistence, too, with which the new leaders preached

¹ *Op. cit.*, i, p. 292.

the need of schools and the value of the schoolmaster's work helped to win the latter to the new movement. Luther labored continually for a truer appreciation of the teaching class:

It requires a peculiarly gifted individual to teach and train children properly; a diligent and conscientious schoolmaster who educates and instructs boys faithfully can never be sufficiently rewarded or paid in money.¹

To maintain its doctrinal issue, therefore, and to protect its future, the church now became more vigorous than ever in its guardianship of the school. The priests were quite generally given the power of inspection, of direction, and even of confirmation in the appointment of teachers. The latter continued as before to pass from the school into the service of the church, and frequently began their clerical duties before they had abandoned their teaching. Under these circumstances, it will be readily understood that the employment of the pupils in the service of the church not only continued but increased. The daily sermon in the church was part of the instruction in the school. Emphasis on the church music contributed by the school boys was redoubled. Even the single lessons were opened with song and prayer. "The school was the church of the young, as the church was the school of the old."

The new dispensation looked closely to its teachers. Bugenhagen's series of *Schulordnungen* was the first to specify a schoolmaster's qualifications, and shortly thereafter each candidate for a rector's or sub-rector's position was expected to supply credentials and undergo an examination in true modern fashion. After depositing

true and legal testimonials and proofs of his birth, training, character, and manner of life, he shall conduct a lesson or two, as directed, in the leading Latin school of the consistory. When he has proven him-

¹ Luther, Sermon, *Dass man die Kinder zur Schule halten soll*.

self capable, especially in grammar, he shall thereupon be examined with particular thoroughness by the consistory in regular order, on Dr. Luther's catechism as contained in the church regulations, to test his religion and Christian faith; especially on the main paragraphs and the disputed articles, to see whether, in one or more, he be not perchance entangled in false doctrine and opinion.¹

This ordeal over, he was sent to the local school authority, and after reading the *Schulordnung*, was duly appointed. This is in Kursachsen in 1580, but similar provisions obtained in other states. The emphasis here reflects the time: sound doctrine at any cost; as for intellectual ability, a *magister artium* is expected. The rector's minor assistants, the "paedagogi", he himself appoints as he chooses.

Tenure of position is still relatively short, for the master's attention is naturally on his future interests which are wholly with the church, beyond its tedious vestibule — the school. Fischer gives evidence to show a general tendency to lengthen the term of appointment. Thus in Frankfort-on-the-Main a schoolmaster was appointed in 1523 for three years, in Wesel, 1521, for eight, and in Zwickau in the same year even for twelve, but the figures in other places show that these latter were very unusual terms of tenure, and that a rapid change still prevailed.² For two of the leading schools of the time, Grauen Kloster at Berlin and the *Gymnasium* at Flensburg, Paulsen gives some significant figures.³ The first had twenty directors in less than one hundred years, 1574-1668. Of these eleven became priests, four took another school, one went to the university and three died in office. In the two centuries following, 1668-1867, there were altogether but twelve changes, giving an average of sixteen and one-half years to each, as compared with less than five years in the preceding period. All twelve ended their careers in office. At Flensburg, between 1566 and 1795,

¹ Vormbaum, *op. cit.*, i, p. 251.

² Fischer, *op. cit.*, i, p. 48.

³ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, i, p. 327.

there were nineteen rectors, the first twelve of whom had an average tenure of five years, and the last seven (1627-1795) of twenty-four years. Of the first twelve, six surely, and probably more, became priests, some even in villages: of the last seven only one did so, and the last rector had left a professorship in the University of Copenhagen to take the position. The period, therefore, at which a good school rectorate became an independent profession is clear; it was a hundred and fifty years longer before this could be said of the work of the rector's assistants.

In respect to income the condition of the schoolmaster in the late fifteenth century is somewhat improved in comparison with the century previous. The vexing minor fees were abolished, as in the case of Nuremberg already cited. But the schoolmaster still collects tuition, takes fees according to the rank of the deceased for attendance of his boys at funerals, accepts gifts and donations made on festival occasions, and even shares the profits of the children from their street-singing. If enterprising he may derive something from his theatrical efforts or private tutoring. In the master's relations with the town authorities, the new *Schulordnungen* seem to have tried to effect a change. Thus Bugenhagen's *Schulordnung* for Braunschweig, 1528, contains a long section fixing salaries and obligations; it binds the *Stadtrat* not to desert the schoolmaster in illness, provides that one of his assistants shall collect the tuition fees, and if a master wishes to marry, it pledges the town to provide a house.¹

The social position of the sixteenth century schoolmaster was a sorry one from his own point of view as well as in the eyes of others. It was deplored in one continuous wail of unappreciated worth which resounded through the next two hundred years. This is not surprising. Both Humanism

¹ Vormbaum, *op. cit.*, i, p. 12.

and Reformation had laid unmeasured emphasis on the culture for which the schoolmaster stood. Humanism, furthermore, had given him a voice and a passion for eloquence. The trouble was that the thing for which he stood bore no direct relation to the thing he did, nor to the way in which he did it. The Humanist schoolmaster, imbued with the new ideals of his new world, — whether these were sincere, as at first, or artificial, as they soon became, — was the sure prey to an inward struggle between work and worth. It was the same struggle that has constituted the teacher's tragedy from that time to this, and is only now beginning to yield to the general insight that worth must somehow be expressed in terms of work to command its proper valuation. Society in the long run appraises a service rendered at its actual significance, and does not willingly make up irrelevant arrears, however much it may pity or admire the creditor. So here, men who felt themselves to be the successors of Greek and Roman poets, were performing with natural disdain what a very much humbler individual could have done quite as well. Melanchthon's friend, Eobanus Hessus, might perhaps better have ascribed his feelings to causes more within his control than to the humbleness of his position as rector at Erfurt, but his words are expressive:

And what is the reward of all our pains? Fasting, affliction, impoverishment, sickness, and never-ceasing grief. Every other pursuit sustains its man; but the school teacher is weighed down with shocking poverty, and the wanton pride of others prostrates him completely. Every common clerk, pettifogger, and beggar-monk has or claims precedence. So in the bloom of our years whitened age overtakes us. Oh, better death than this profession!¹

One is more impressed with Melanchthon's own complaint:

We are objects of the most arrogant contempt, not only from the ignorant, the commercial class, who rail at all education, but also from those demi-gods that sit on high at the courts.²

¹ Schmidt, *Gesch. d. Pädagogik*, ii, p. 481. ² *Corpus Reformatorum*, xi, p. 299.

From a later period, 1577, Janssen quotes the words of a preacher in Jena:

Who can deny the truth of the taunt flung by the papists, that among the protestants all charity has as good as disappeared, and that preachers, teachers, and schoolmasters are so lightly esteemed that they can find no support for wife and child, and even by begging are often unable to keep soul and body together.¹

This whole chapter of Janssen is full of instances showing the savagery of the schools, and the want and destitution of the masters. Possibly his Catholic point of view leads him to undervalue material that gives Fischer's account a more cheerful tone.

Unforeseen by Luther, an important factor operated from the time of the Reformation on, to reduce the social prestige of the schoolmaster and of the clergy as well. When the break in the church came, the old clerical nobility, recruited through the cloister schools from the first blood of the land, withdrew. The princes of the church went over to the state on which the church was now dependent, and the lower clergy alone remained, drawn largely from the lower classes and accustomed to small esteem. In the school this occasioned a loss not fully retrieved until the nineteenth century. From now on, the governing classes received their education either through specially favored institutions, through the later *Ritteracademieën*, or through private instructors. In view of the generally accepted German principle: "As the pupil, so the master," in respect to gentility, the effect of this change on the schoolmaster's social position was considerable. This loss of prestige was partly atoned for by the establishment of several great state schools out of confiscated church property. Here, if anywhere, the nobility still appeared, and here are to be found also the beginnings of that state over-sight and control which

¹ Janssen, *Gesch. d. d. Volkes*, vii, p. 74.

developed later such conditions as were needed for a homogeneous *Oberlehrerstand*. These schools were able to select the best masters, and their operation could be maintained at a high standard. A position here was among the few to give that social standing which a capable man, inclined to the profession from inward motives, would find agreeable for life.

Finally a passage or two may be cited from Ebner, who, in his little book *Magister, Oberlehrer, Professoren*, has sought to trace the figure of the schoolmaster through German literature. He says of this and the period immediately following:

It is the same figure recurring again and again — the schoolmaster continually bursting into lamentations, chiefly in Latin. Between the stupidity of the parents and the rebelliousness of the pupils he wages an exhausting warfare; the demons of the school-room beset him sorely, and his mournful existence is lightened only on the rare occasion when some parent invites him out to dine.¹

Typical, too, is the following extract from a *Komödie vom Schulwesen* by Georg Mauritius, rector in Nuremberg, 1606; The Magister Christianus speaks:

Am I not a wretched man ?
Endure such weary toil, none can;
Neither day nor night brings rest,
And mighty meagre thanks at best.
A match for me ne'er lived, I know;
Nor tossed in such a sea of woe;
Was ne'er by toil so overborne,
Nor thus of all life's best powers shorn.

3. *The Pedant-Schoolmaster, 1600-1750*

The most characteristic features of school-teaching before 1600 have been outlined. They continue for a hundred and fifty years almost without change, touched in the larger

¹ Ebner, *Magister, Oberlehrer, Professoren*, p. 67.

schools of the eighteenth century, by the beginnings of better things, and giving place generally in the nineteenth to a new spirit and new conditions. The fervor of humanistic ideals was rapidly exhausted in a dogmatic age concerned with nerving all parties to religious wars; but the withered practices remained. Against these the progressive spirits of the seventeenth century, Ratichius, Comenius, Leibnitz, and others carried on a derisive and relentless, but largely fruitless struggle. Stirred by influences from without, where forces were in motion that left the German scholar-world almost untouched, the governing classes broke entirely with the old system, and devised one new and up-to-date in the brilliant but superficial *Ritterakademieen* or schools for noblemen. Nevertheless the old persisted. Greek, to be sure, had everywhere given way, and its study was reduced chiefly to a formal handling of the New Testament for the sake of the future students of theology. Between 1600 and 1775, there appeared scarcely a single new edition of a Greek classic author, though an exceedingly active period of publication had preceded.¹ Latin, on the contrary, held its ground in aim, method, and amount; its gradual devitalization appeared in the abandonment of the classical writers, and a more or less complete return to the philosophical and theological Latin which in the seventeenth century had completely remastered the universities.

Toward the end of the century, the reform ideas of Ratichius, that had received tentative expression in the short-lived institutions of the Thuringian duke of Gotha as early as 1640, found a permanent and popular embodiment at Halle, in the *Paedagogium* of A. H. Franke, a former pupil at Gotha. This school, widely influential through its pupils, incorporated in its curriculum French, German, geometry, trigonometry, algebra, history, and geography, beside Latin

¹ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, i, p. 475.

and Greek.¹ This sounds revolutionary but the change is seen to be more apparent than real when it is observed that to Latin alone was assigned three and a half hours daily except on the review days, Wednesday and Saturday. German, and all the non-linguistic work, was given in a single afternoon period!² So firm was the grip of formalism even in that model centre of the new tendencies. The new subjects rapidly found their way into the larger and better schools, but as private, extra, and voluntary subjects for which a special fee was charged. Not until J. M. Gesner's genius later transformed the old Latin instruction, and gave it rational relations to life and reality did the new ideas completely break through or receive genuine recognition in the plan of studies.

As the old régime ran its course, the schoolmaster appeared in an increasingly unfavorable light. His training was still that of the church. In the edict of Frederick William I, 1718, the examination requirements of the priest and schoolmaster are treated as fully identical, and one is expected to appreciate and supplement the work of the other.³ Consider, furthermore, that, by the eighteenth century, classical studies had practically disappeared from the universities, here and there absolutely. In respect to real preparation for his work, therefore, the *magister artium* was as badly off as his predecessor of the Middle Ages. What he had received in the school before going to the university became his complete professional stock-in-trade when he returned as rector of the institution; should he pass on into the priesthood as he expected, another, as badly off as he, took his place; should fate leave him with the class of unsuccessful remnants to spend his life in teaching, the effect upon the school may be imagined. One is not surprised, therefore,

¹ Vormbaum, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 214 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

³ Heubaum, *Gesch. d. d. Bildungswesens*, i, p. 161.

to find that even at the famous Halle *Pädagogion*, impressions were current like the following from the autobiography of one who was there from 1728 to 1732:

In no schools is one likely to find the teachers properly selected; exceedingly few are really fit for their profession, and at Halle the arrangements are such that almost every hour and every half-year one gets not only different but new teachers. At Halle, therefore, I had the misfortune to be, for the most part, under masters who were no students of literature, who were in fact not teachers at all. They could not get at the kernel of Cicero for me, and as a result, I conceived a loathing for the old Latin authors whom I could not understand. That was bad luck for me.¹

A few passages may serve, in closing, to illustrate the consensus of opinion in regard to the work and position of the schoolmaster during or at the end of the period under discussion. Setting forth the causes for poor schools, the *Schulordnung* of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, 1651, proceeds:

The prime cause is undeniably the fact that the instructors have not enjoyed sufficient pay to cover their necessities of food and drink, to say nothing of clothing and other indispensable requirements.

From this and other causes mentioned it ensues

that he who undertakes an appointment to instruct youth in school must count on no other reward for his severe pains and labor, than a rigorous life, passed in hunger, thirst, exposure, and lack of every necessity; and, in addition, he must expect to be scorned by everyone and trodden under foot.²

From the verdict of German literature Ebner reports:

The scholar-humanist of the early sixteenth century becomes little by little the Latin-spouting pedant, the "*Schulfuchs*," as the seventeenth century calls him, over whom it is the fashion to joke. The professional prestige, which we can still clearly discern in the literary remains of the Reformation period — think of Macropedius — crumbles away bit by bit. The teacher grows powerless with the parents, dependent upon them as he is for his pittance for tuition. That this dependence reacts injuriously upon his character is obvious. Thus

¹ Reiske's *Selbstbiographie*. Cf. Paulsen, *op. cit.*, i, p. 595.

² Vormbaum, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 410 ff.

with the advancing seventeenth century, the figure of the teacher becomes more and more deplorable; indeed, actually vulgar.¹

And their condition in the eighteenth century he finds more dismal and pitiful, if possible, than we discovered it to be in the seventeenth.²

Finally to sum up with Paulsen's words:

When, in the schools, both teachers and pupils are forced in daily toil to pursue occupations to which beyond school walls no significance is longer attached, the result cannot be other than discontent.

It is my belief that at no time has the school work in secondary schools been performed with less pleasure and spontaneity than at the beginning of the eighteenth century.³

What busied them counted no longer in the world without; what counted without, that was hardly as yet their business.⁴

¹ Ebner, *Magister, Oberlehrer, Professoren*, p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, i, p. 592.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, p. 607.

CHAPTER II

SECOND PERIOD, 1750-1871

THE NEW-HUMANIST OBERLEHRER

1. *The Greek Revival*

THE spirit and ideals of higher instruction may or may not reflect directly the best insight of the time. Periods of such coincidence alternate with long intervals of transition and maladjustment. The years between 1650 and 1800 seem to constitute such an interval, after which the school in Germany represents the dominant spiritual forces in society more perfectly than at any preceding time. To appreciate the change it is indispensable to observe these guiding intellectual and spiritual forces more closely.

In the face of what gave every promise of being certain oblivion, Greek and Roman studies were rescued during the eighteenth century by a movement that carried them to the zenith of their influence in western Europe. This movement was essentially of a twofold character. In its method and mental attitude it represented fully the purpose and scope of that idea which had been approached, indeed, in the earlier Humanism, but which had first found emphatic apostles in Ratichius and Comenius; namely, *content as well as form, and content first*. In its spirit and direction, on the other hand, it assumed the proportions of a veritable religion, nourished in the hitherto almost unknown Greek civilization. It is difficult, in a brief statement, to set such a movement in the frame of its necessary surroundings, but it cannot be considered out of connection with the profound mental release which had occurred in theology, law, medicine, and

philosophy. It gathered up into itself all those instincts for scientific and aesthetic satisfaction which the discovery of the world of things had brought. It offered at the same time a peculiarly welcome refuge in its glowing ideals for those more ardent and creative spirits who could feel only aversion for the coldness of Rationalism or the rigors of Pietism.

The first of these characteristics will appear below when the specific changes in the methods of instruction are pointed out. The second is of perhaps greater fundamental importance because it seems to contain the secret of that overpowering self-confidence and enthusiasm with which the New Humanism set to work, and which completely transformed the life and mission of the German schoolmaster. An ideal that could captivate the minds of a group of men like Johann Winckelmann, Lessing, Herder, Humboldt, Goethe, and Schiller, and lead to a series of artistic performances that with scarcely diminished power still signalize a great epoch, could hardly fail to arouse the fervor of those men who found the means to reach it directly in their path. To the restless Winckelmann "the noble simplicity and calm greatness" of Greek beauty had become a controlling passion. Schiller, commiserating Goethe for the roundabout path his northern spirit must follow in reaching its ideal, laments:

Had you been born a Greek, or even an Italian, and been surrounded from the cradle up with the flower of Nature's forms and an Art dedicated to the Ideal, your path thither had been infinitely shortened, possibly wholly done away. For so the first vision of things would have revealed to you their necessary form, and the mighty style would have risen in you with your earliest experiences.¹

And Herder in one of his *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* (No. 66) utters the dominating conception of the whole band:

¹ Vollmer, *Briefwechsel zw. Schiller u. Goethe*, i, p. 5. *Brief vom 23 Aug., 1794.*

With solemn reverence we ascend to Olympus, and there behold the forms of gods in the likeness of men. The Greeks deified Humanity. Other nations debased the thought of God and made it monstrous; but this one elevated the divine in man to deity.

Paulsen's summary of the results of this train of thought ought also to be given:

In this world of thought and feeling the German people lived and labored during the next two generations — that portion of the German people, at least, which attended the secondary schools and universities. Among the Greeks the idea of Man became flesh: to lift ourselves to the true, the ideal manhood through reflection upon that idea — that is henceforth the task. It becomes the duty of the secondary school to serve as means to this end. The school is, as it were, the temple of Hellenism upon earth, whither the youth of all peoples shall be led to acquire for themselves the idea of Humanity. In place of the old "*sapiens atque eloquens pietas*" stands now "*sapiens atque eloquens humanitas*."¹

In the same direction worked Rousseau's influence, especially powerful in Prussia, in so far as it overthrew outworn conventions, and sought to make the spirit free to develop from within. Spontaneous activity and self-discovery in the fresh, untrammelled play of a healthy human nature is the keynote. Heralding his ideas, the Philanthropinists caught the ear of the German public. The attention they were given and the expectations they aroused are most significant indications of the appearance of new educational aspirations.

The expression of this movement in an effective educational practice was the work primarily of three men, Johann Gesner, Christian Heyne, and Friedrich Wolf, who gave the technique of classical studies the form that it has retained to the present time. The new treatment that these men inaugurated and developed was simple but radically different from the old, and as suggested above seems best regarded as a satisfaction of the demand of their time that at last the

¹ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 198.

mind be given the substance of thought in place of its empty shell. To read the author, not the words, is their object; to receive his ideas with complete mental sympathy and abandon; to live his life and think his thoughts, and to gain, by a sort of inner communion, the standpoint and spirit of him who had expressed great truths. To do this the old painful progress through a writer for the purpose of gathering in choice words and neat turns of phrase must give place to rapid, comprehensive reading, to thorough analysis of the historical setting and literary purpose, and, finally, to a stimulation of the imagination to keen personal appreciation of the writer's spiritual achievement.

It is needless to say that imitation in the old sense disappears wholly. The idea is refined into an inward submission to the mastery of ancient genius in the hope of an almost mystic enduement of power to create in the spirit of that genius. Thus the essence of the discipline to be sought appears, not in the language, but in the intimate personal touch with the good and the great. Gesner, like Hieronymus Wolf in the sixteenth century, even laments that the language stands in the way. With Heyne and Wolf, to be sure, the doctrine of formal training through language study was developed to its fullest extent, but one has only to note the character of the achievements of these men to perceive that their own vast profits out of their business with the ancients had come through quite different channels. Heyne's biographer, Heeren, comparing him with those who approached the study of languages with purely linguistic or antiquarian motives, proceeds:

From the outset Heyne had conceived a totally different view of antiquity. His entire concern with it had proceeded from the poets, and this point of view was sufficient to indicate that his interest in these studies was directed not merely to linguistic scholarship, but far more to the refinement of taste, the ennobling of feeling, and the complete development of our whole moral nature. To be sure, study

of the language, of the grammar and versification, must furnish the basis for further study of classical literature; but to make these the chief object and final purpose means to thrust down classical literature from the height to which Heyne has lifted it.¹

And Herbst in the biography of J. H. Voss, shows how completely Heyne's concern with the realities of the past had absorbed him.

Just as in interpretation he laid emphatic stress upon objective reality, so both in research and in instruction he had initiated the organization of the various disciplines dealing with antiquity — mythology, archaeology, and art. Those mighty influences such as religion, the state, art, and literature, which gave form and vitality to the life of ancient peoples, could not fail to make him clearly aware of the analogous elements in the life of his own time, thoroughly aroused and productive as it was in all these directions. He is the first philologist in whom appears such interaction of antiquity with modern civilization, of life with scholarship, an interaction in which must be sought the deeper cause of Heyne's social significance and of his popularity.²

In the case of Wolf such citations are hardly necessary. According to his own claim and the acknowledgment of posterity he fused the whole mass of classical learning into one organic whole and gave it a name. The underlying motive which impelled him therein was identical with that felt and professed by the others of the humanist group, namely, the knowledge of man as man stimulated in all his innermost possibilities through contact with the relics of that nation in whose art and life man had found his loftiest representation. Wolf even conceives the matter as having the worth and all the imperative finality of a religion.

It is evident that these are intensely modern men aglow with the best life and aspiration of their time and contributing to it. Gesner at Göttingen was founder of a society

¹ Heeren, *C. G. Heyne*, pp. 186 ff.

² Herbst, *Johann Heinrich Voss*, i, pp. 69 ff.

for the promotion of the German language and literature, and was an ardent worker in it. Heyne, through the power of his vital interpretations of antiquity, held an audience drawn from all faculties of the university. Wolf, in spite of an arrogant personality, wielded a power with men like Wilhelm v. Humboldt that clearly marks his great importance. That its real source should be ignored, and that the secret of human wealth in classical antiquity should become gradually attached to a chiefly false, and wholly insignificant invention of these enthusiastic path-breakers, is one of the pitiable and discouraging turns in educational history which particularly deserves to be held up for study and warning. The notion of an indispensable formal culture won from familiarity with the logic and subtle spirit of the classical languages in themselves, was fully worked out by Wolf.¹ And thus the inner discipline which Gesner had found only in the "intercourse with the greatest and noblest souls that ever lived"² and which Heyne indeed claimed for the language, but had clearly secured for himself through such intercourse, was given its shibboleth, — *formal discipline* through classical philology, a watch-word which fortified every pedant-philologist of the nineteenth century long after sympathy and reverence for the original had vanished.

The new method and spirit of instruction shifted the aim of the schoolmaster completely. What was previously an arduous memory drill became a progressive development and training of the judgment, taste, and sentiment. This involved necessarily the interested, spontaneous activity of the developing mind of the pupil, and from this new standpoint the new school-practice received its most distinctive orientation. To this end the contribution of another

¹ Wolf, *Kleine Schriften*, ii, pp. 863-871.

² Vormbaum, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 390.

movement, considered by the humanists as widely divergent, was undoubtedly great, and should be acknowledged.

Aroused by the bitter invective and startling proposals of Rousseau, a few sanguine but over-zealous men had brought his scheme to earth in a concrete organization — the *Philanthropinum* of Basedow at Dessau. Ziegler has shown¹ how much Gesner's own views had in common with these efforts, and in the light of the consideration given them by the king and his minister Zedlitz, it is impossible to believe that they were fruitless. They but exaggerated certain principles that found immediate foothold. Thus in discipline, the use of the rod was felt to be incongruous with the new purpose in view, and was largely displaced, as an inducement to study, by forms of emulation that now proved practicable. Independent private work on the part of the pupil seemed appropriate to this new attitude, and the formal preparation of lessons was required first by Gedike at Berlin.² Meierotto's students' society at Joachimstal for the free discussion of scholarly subjects was a new and significant development.³

The diffusion of the new type of education was necessarily a slow process. Its introduction depended upon a new type of teacher, and for this there was little provision. The state schools, with their centralized control, and generous support, profited first; while the Latin schools of the small towns remained far behind up to the end of the century. Following the example of Francke's *Pädagogium*, the new studies became very generally a serious part of the program. History was introduced to arouse the moral feelings and infuse patriotism; mathematics, chiefly in applied forms, together with the beginnings of science, to emphasize the rational workings of nature. The old Latin grammar drill

¹ Ziegler, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, p. 268.

² Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

was shortened and simplified by the use of compendiums, or the frank adoption of the principles of the New Humanism. Greek gained rapidly, and German everywhere became a fundamental subject, taking the place of the Latin dramatics, and, to some extent, of the Latin declamation. Together with German, if not before, the study of French increased. In all directions the severity of the old régime was at the same time much softened by the influence of the new human spirit abroad.

2. *Remaking the Schoolmaster*

It was inevitable in a transition of this sort, that the fire of criticism should be centred chiefly on the teacher. The reforms demanded were radical; that the demands were urgent is shown by the fact that the figure of the schoolmaster after the change is wholly unrecognizable when compared with that of his predecessor. One can well understand what a target public opinion, aroused by "Emile", would suddenly find in the low, coarse, untrained, and often brutal pedagogue who presided in a majority of the public schools early in the eighteenth century. That he did become the centre of a general critical and abusive interest is shown by the place he fills in the drama and prose literature after about 1750,¹ as well as by the confidence with which the popular Philanthropinists attack him.

What the new teacher should be prepared to do appears vividly in several passages cited by Paulsen. One is from Heyne in connection with his experience in reforming the royal school at Ilfeld:

At the beginning merely a general survey of the elements is necessary. This done, reading should begin at once, but not after the cursed method of the schools, where a pupil is called upon to "expound", i. e., to translate, when he knows neither the meaning, nor the individual words, nor the context; while the indolent master sits

¹ Ebner, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

in his chair waiting in impatient idleness, and responds at most with a disgruntled sigh. *No, the teacher must himself do everything for the pupil;* must be his grammar, lexicon, and translation; must post him in advance on every word which he cannot, or at least does not know; must arrange the phrases, develop the thought, impress it on the memory, and through the modest sum of the boy's achievements give him courage.¹

The sentence which appears in italics in the above passage, if open to pedagogical criticism, could not well be improved as a statement of the master's proper inner attitude, and that is where the most significant change took place. Similarly Gedike, after outlining his scheme of language study, comes to the important condition of its success:

To be sure this method, like everything that is useful, has its difficulties, and they are not slight. Moreover it has little to offer for the comfort of the teachers. It assumes that they will be humanists who desire to be something more than mere linguists: that they will be men, in short, who select not a Burmann but a Heyne as a model in their studies of classic literature, and who are zealous to follow this model even though at some distance.²

The gap between the demand and the supply of this sort of instructor was early discovered. It formed the chief concern of thoughtful teachers from Buddeus, Gesner's teacher at Jena, through the entire line until the new need was in a measure satisfied and the training of teachers became the almost unique task of the philosophical faculty of the nineteenth century universities. The work of Gesner and Heyne at Göttingen consisted in taking young theologians, broadening their course in "philosophy", (i. e. mathematics, physics, and history); then for a year or two steeping them in classical study, much of which was organized with special reference to school use. Under Gesner there seems to have been some practice of teaching in Göttingen schools.

¹ Heyne, *Nachricht von der gegenwärtigen Einrichtung des Kgl. Pädagogii zu Ilfeld*. Cf. Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 40.

² Cf. Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 84.

With Heyne, however, the distinctly pedagogical features dropped gradually into the background as interest in philological studies deepened. Succeeding Gesner's quarter of a century of such activity, Heyne sent out over three hundred trained scholars from his seminar. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a new profession was being discovered; theology was no longer the student's only goal. The Göttingen professor Michaelis observed the change before 1768:

For some time past there have been a few who, in the unusually wild resolve to make schoolmen of themselves, have devoted their time wholly to school subjects, without studying theology. In some cases sheer love of country or of school studies is responsible for this worthy resolution; in others it is fear of the symbolical books, subscription to which is now giving offense to many who have studied theology. To be sure, their numbers will be small who think or act in this fashion, so long as the school service is so poorly paid, and so long as the public schools fail to attract more children from the higher classes.¹

This development may be noted, by the way, as a particularly interesting illustration of the social physics of a teaching class. Here is a movement where the opportunity is perceived and seized long before the economic demand exists. The new teacher, through a higher fitness, seems to create his function which, in this case, meets a genuine social need.

A brilliant example of the energy of the new class of students now appears in the person of Friedrich August Wolf. With characteristic vehemence he demanded, when a student at Göttingen in 1777, to be enrolled not as *studiosus theologiae*, according to all precedent, but as *studiosus philologiae*, and carried his point despite the Rector's refusal. Doubtless something of this ruthless self-confidence was necessary to carry out the far-reaching program he set for

¹ Michaelis, J. D., *Räsonnement über die protest. Universitäten in Deutschland*, i, p. 146; iii, p. 164. Cf. Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 158.

himself during his twenty years' activity at Halle. Wolf is the man on whom the German Oberlehrer may look as the intellectual father of his profession. He it was who created the conception of the higher instructor that governed the proposals of 1810. This he did in a threefold way. First, as has been said, he organized contemporary classical scholarship into a scientific whole and created, thereby, a dignified system worthy of comparison with that of theological doctrine. Secondly, he did probably more than any other man to convince the educated world that this new science was the proper tool for higher education. And, thirdly, he shook off decisively and finally from the educational pursuit of classical studies all associations with theology and the church.

J. F. Arnoldt has brought together Wolf's educational utterances in a convenient volume from which one is tempted to quote at length.

Nearly the whole value of training depends upon the skill, conscientiousness, and learning of the masters.

In general, no one should devote himself to a profession unless directed thereto by his own inner impulse. Most certainly is this true of the teaching profession; only an extraordinary love for the business, a love for youth itself and a pure, religious zeal for working in behalf of coming generations can make endurable the unspeakable toil which is part of this profession. Reward is out of the question; recognition nearly so. The teacher's ardor must rest upon the conviction that his post is of the highest dignity and that appreciation of his service lives on in the hearts of his better pupils.¹

Such was the prospect that he held out. The material with which he had to deal is indicated in the chancellor's report establishing the seminar at Halle: scholarships are offered "inasmuch as most of the young men who enter the service of the schools are exceedingly poor."² Wolf's ideas of the training that these future schoolmen need appear in the reply to this report:

¹ Arnoldt, *Fr. A. Wolf*, ii, p. 58.

² *Op. cit.*, i, p. 246.

Their work will necessarily deal chiefly with languages and classical studies inasmuch as these furnish the basis for all advanced scholarship, and through these interests the mental powers are most generally trained and kept in activity. Furthermore, it is everywhere admitted that one who is thoroughly conversant with the humanities can later turn with great ease to any special branch of learning.¹

That the original intention of the newly established *Oberschulkollegium* at Berlin, was to make the Halle seminar a practical training-school for teachers is clear from the correspondence.² In the form of a resignation Wolf expressly declines the task.³ Thus, as with Heyne at Göttingen, after a period of wavering, the pedagogical idea is definitely abandoned, and purely philological training is made the basis of university preparation for teaching in the higher schools.

At almost the same date, 1787, Fr. Gedike, member of the educational bureau, and strong believer in the current pedagogical tendency, secured a handsome endowment for a seminar in connection with his *Gymnasium* at Berlin, — the first of the modern *Gymnasial-seminare*. It required as prerequisite an extensive preparation in the philosophical faculty of the university; it then made its members auxiliary teachers in the school, obliged them to visit classes, teach under direction, and discuss the results with the leader, precisely as today.⁴ Its capacity was small and its influence was therefore limited, but it is interesting, at this parting of the ways, to reflect upon what might have been had Wolf conceived his task somewhat differently and developed the university seminar more after the pattern set by the practical schoolman.

3. *Beginnings of an Oberlehrerstand*

We have been concerned up to this point with the intellectual and pedagogical changes which contributed to make

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

² *Ibid.*, p. 250.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁴ Richter, *Gymnasial-Seminar*, Rein's *Encyc. Handbuch*, iii.

the schoolmaster in the nineteenth century other than he was in the middle of the eighteenth, and have considered him chiefly in his individual capacity. Before proceeding to show the way in which he reacted to these changes, it will be necessary to trace briefly certain external events which, in their cumulative effect, have operated to give him a very definite collective existence. For it is chiefly this collective consciousness that inspires and guides him today.

It has already been noted that in the establishment of royal schools under state control, the sixteenth century had seen the formation of a specially favored class of masters, chosen from among the best available candidates, and enjoying rather more than the average prestige inhering in the teacher's position of that day. So far as any outward circumstances that would differentiate these men as a special class are concerned, there were none. Their training was clerical, and their examination was for the priesthood to which they looked forward. So it remained, and as such it was confirmed in the Prussian Order of 1718. This was renewed in its essential particulars in 1735, but with a distinction between higher and lower teaching positions in which Heubaum sees "the first attempt at a division into two categories of teachers".¹ The first important step toward the coming separation of functions, however, was taken in 1787, with the establishment of a separate bureau for school affairs — the *Oberschulkollegium* — a body to which were assigned the duties of examining and nominating teachers, of establishing seminaries, and of general inspection.² The author of this measure, the minister of state, Freiherr von Zedlitz, was of the clear conviction that under the administration of the existing clerical organization, efficient teachers were not to be had, and in the improvement of the

¹ Heubaum, *Geschichte des deutschen Bildungswesen*, i, p. 165.

² Rönne, *Unterrichtswesen*, i, p. 76.

teachers he saw the all-important factor in uplifting the schools. The principle that his policy involved was defined beyond question in the *Allgemeines Landrecht* of 1794, in the following terms:

Schools and universities are state institutions. All public schools are under state supervision, and must submit to the examinations and inspections of the same. Teachers in the *Gymnasien* and other secondary schools are to be regarded as state officials.¹

Here at last are the recorded results of one period in the long process wherein the church has steadily fallen back before the increasing power of the state. Though but formal as yet, the principle was gradually but completely enforced in the case of the higher schools, and today the Oberlehrer's capacity as *Staatsbeamter* is the chief support of his external dignity. It was, nevertheless, an exchange of one master for another. Along with the distinction for which the term "Staatsbeamter" is most prized, there has always gone a somewhat sinister notion for those who value intellectual freedom and individuality above all else. Against the concealed but by no means remote peril which, under a paternal government, may threaten these priceless elements in education the schoolman has been obliged more than once to be on his guard.

With the disastrous political events of 1806 and 1807 we are not especially concerned. Their importance for the spirit of German education was indirect but very great. In political humiliation came the sense that all that was left was the field of the mind where the German felt himself supreme. Wisely led by Stein and Humboldt, and reassured by the superb confidence of Fichte and Schleiermacher the nation developed a unity of patriotic feeling that has never left it. In the scholar this combined readily with the religious note already present in his attachment to Greek

¹ A. L.-R. im 12. Tit. des II. Teils, 1, 9, 65. Cf. Rönne, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 221 ff.

antiquity, and whereas, in the preceding decade, the leaders had been a bit uncertain in their political allegiance, there was no hesitation now; it was "*Deutschland über Alles*" but *Deutschland* permeated and transformed by the spirit of the Greek ideal.

The practical issue of this inward baptism of the spirit became immediately evident in the organization of the schools, which proceeded from 1808 on. For us the displacement of the *Oberschulkollegium* by a ministerial *Sektion* in 1808, and the erection of the latter into an independent *Ministerium* in 1817, is unimportant except as showing the progressive development of the state administration of the schools. But a step of the very first importance, a step which marks, indeed, the turning point in the history of the secondary school, was taken in 1810. In this year was issued the edict which created a uniform, professional examination for teachers in all the schools preparing students for the universities. An earlier provision should first be mentioned that was not without importance in standardizing the training of the teacher who was now to undergo examination. This was the so-called "*triennium academicum*" that established a minimum of six semesters of university attendance for all who expected a state appointment. The rule was laid down in 1804, and is still in force.¹ That a century ago such a rule was necessary, whereas today the average of university attendance is at least double the number of semesters then required, is significant of great changes in the interval.

Of the purpose and probable effect of the new examination, Humboldt, its originator, had a prophetic idea that has been realized to a surprising degree.

"The result," he says, "will be a school conducted on educational principles, and an association of trained teachers. And if it is im-

¹ Baumeister, *op. cit.*, i, 2d pt., p. 15.

portant to avoid a forced unanimity of opinion, it is just as important, by means of a sort of professional fraternity, unthinkable without the excision of alien elements, to develop a power and an enthusiasm which the individual and scattered activity always lacks — a power and enthusiasm which of themselves eliminate the poor teacher, and inspire and guide the average one, while strengthening and spurring on the strides even of the best".¹

The reaction upon the teacher could not have been better foretold; it is with the greatest reason that the Oberlehrer-class regards the date of this edict as its birthday. Introduced ostensibly to correct the evils of arbitrary appointment of teachers, it resulted, finally, by the nature of its terms, in the complete severance of their official control from the church in whose hands the machinery of examination had up to that time been lodged.

In comparison with subsequent regulations the terms of the edict are short.² Specified branches are philology, history, and mathematics only. Evidently much latitude is allowed the examining commission, and in this the best spirit of the New Humanism is apparent. What is desired is a broad grasp of the essential fields as wholes, not exhaustive knowledge of limited topics. As the century advanced, this principle underwent drastic modifications in practice, if not in theory, but it is certain that at the outset, the new-humanist "Oberlehrer", as he is now for the first time officially termed, was conceived as a broadly cultured, wholeminded individual. Besides the theoretical examination, the edict provides for a practical teaching test at the option of the commission.³ This seems to have been left, as a rule, to the local authority when the candidate received his appointment.

¹ Grosse, *Beiträge*, p. 7.

² Neigebauer, *Die preussischen Gymnasien*, p. 229.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 230.

From 1810 on, the professional training for positions in higher schools was thus uniformly, and with increasing minuteness, prescribed. Subject to personal variations in the examining commissions, professional identity was ensured, and thus what is unquestionably the most powerful factor in inner class-solidarity became operative.

The development of a professional function was of next importance, and for this an official act of October 15, 1812, furnished the necessary basis. It has a preliminary history which has been deferred to this point. In 1788, the then recently appointed *Oberschulkollegium* issued an order of more than usual significance. To regulate the attendance at the universities, or more exactly, to exclude from access to the numerous university scholarships a mass of unfit material, an examination was established. And to relieve the university authorities from maintaining a standard which might put them at the mercy of less scrupulous competitors in other states, this examination was put in charge of the schools themselves — such as were adjudged capable of furnishing a high grade of preparatory training. Left largely to the school directors, this first *Abiturientenprüfung*, as it was called, failed of its purpose.¹ It is from 1812, therefore, when a fresh edict defined its provisions more sharply, that its actual effectiveness is usually dated. The examination was to be conducted essentially as it is today. It consisted of a written test in the form of essays in German, Latin, and French, a mathematical exposition, and a translation from and into Greek. This was followed by an oral examination given by the candidate's teachers in the presence of the entire staff of the school, of a representative of the immediate *Patron*, (either the city or a private person or corporation), and under the active direction of

¹ Thiersch, *Oeffentlichen Unterrichts*, i, p. 462.

a school commissioner (*Schulrat*) from the *Konsistorium* or, later, from the provincial School-Board to which the consistory's educational prerogatives were transferred. The test covered all the languages that were taught besides mathematics, history, geography, and natural science; it was thorough.

The effect upon the teacher of this fundamental overhauling at the end of a boy's school life was felt in a variety of ways. In the first place, it is apparent that it overhauled the teacher as well as the boy; "A good thing to keep the teachers on the jump", as Wolf remarked.¹ The written tests were marked by the teachers concerned, then reviewed by the school commissioner, who sent them on to the examining commission at the university. Bearing the observations of these two authorities, the papers went back to the teacher, "so that with a two-fold inspection of their work, the masters of the *Gymnasium* have a sufficient inducement and spur to the utmost accuracy."² The oral examination in the presence of colleagues and under the eye of a critical inspector was surely no less of a stimulus. With the exception of the participation of the university commission, which is now omitted, the procedure is the same today. The effect of this constant exposure to expert criticism has proved beyond question a wonderful tonic in the maintenance of the Oberlehrer's intellectual fitness.

A second effect of the *Abiturienten-prüfung*, less direct but very influential in increasing the prestige both of the master and the school, lay in the fact that it was given by the master of the school. When compared with a system of state examinations such as prevails in France, for example, the advantage for the dignity and self-respect of the master becomes apparent. Public attention is focussed upon the school as an authority, not merely as a tool; the master is

¹ Grosse, *Beiträge*, p. 11. ² Thiersch, *Oeffentlichen Unterrichts*, i, p. 465.

in the position, outwardly at least, of a judge of the pupil whose development he has in part determined, rather than of a coach, cramming a lad for a wholly external and artificial estimate.¹

In the third place, the new arrangement, though it did not originate it, was a very decided advance in the formulation of the much discussed system of qualifications (*Berechtigungswesen*) which plays a mighty rôle in German education from this time forth. The examination qualified for study at the university. The latter continued to maintain its nominal entrance test practically for all comers, including those who failed in the *Abiturient*. But the load of these "conditioned" "invalids, who allowed no lecture of their future examiners to go unbooked or unpaid"² finally became intolerable, and in 1834 the *Abiturientenprüfung* was made the sole qualifying test. Besides this right of university study was one earned earlier in the course at the *Gymnasium* which freed the possessor from military service, or, after 1814, entitled him to a one-year service only.³ These two valuable privileges, thus associated, worked wonders in the social attitude toward the *Gymnasium*. Combined with the genuine excellence of the schools, this factor brought the German higher classes as a unit under the influence of a single institution. On the one hand, poor material tended to disappear from such schools as were selected to give this examination, and on the other, private tutors were abandoned, and special institutions lacking the power of "qualification" (*Berechtigung*) were obliged to adjust themselves to other purposes. All of this could not fail to operate powerfully in raising the social position of that carefully selected class of men now in charge. A

¹ Mey, *Frankreichs Schulen*, p. 73.

² Thiersch, *Oeffentlichen Unterrichts*, i, p. 464.

³ Steinbart in Rein's *Encyc. Handbuch*, i, p. 327.

man who, as a public servant, is intrusted with the nine-years-long training of sons of the nobility, and even with that of the Crown Prince of the Empire, as was the case in Cassel, 1877, can be no casual product; he must be a man who commands and receives the esteem of his patrons. It may reasonably be urged that the profession has received an artificial and bolstered dignity; that it has become a "protected industry", if you will, lifted out of the free operation of social forces and given arbitrary status. Even thus, however, it has been compelled to justify itself in the long run, and the conditions of its development and operation are still instructive for a free society.

Lastly, mention must be made of the exceedingly important reaction of the examination on the school itself, and thus on the form and function of instruction. Uniform regulations for examination implied, as an inevitable consequence, the more or less uniform regulation of the course of study. This followed informally at first, and not as a fixed requirement. But the natural tendency was to use the government standard more and more as a model. As this tendency became increasingly general, the lines of distinction between different types of schools, or at least between *Gymnasien* and other schools, became increasingly clear. This cleavage began with the issuance of the first examination order of 1788; and with the classification of 1832, the *non-Gymnasien* were accorded a fixed status.

The isolation of the *Gymnasien* from the mass of Latin schools, good and bad, of which they were a part at the beginning of the century, was thus accomplished. They stand out, henceforth, as distinct, clearly conceived units, institutions with a single, well-defined, and inspiring function — to give the future leaders of the nation their intellectual and moral foundation. They are in the hands of a set of men with adequate and identical training *ad hoc*, sifted by an

everywhere similar process, and dealing throughout with the same problems and a homogeneous material. It is now in place to observe the change that has occurred in the personal characteristics of the teacher as a result of this long and eventful transition.

4. *The New-Humanist Oberlehrer*

Recall the schoolmasters of the eighteenth century through Freytag's picture:

A pathetic tribe, inured to renunciation, often broken in health as the result of the life of hardship and privation through which they had worked their way! There were geniuses of every description; perverse and obnoxious fellows in plenty; even the more capable majority had no considerable knowledge. Their lot in life was to rise slowly from *Sexta* or *Quinta* perchance to the distinction of a co-rectorate, with a slender increase in their meagre income. Their keenest pleasure was to discover now and then a brilliant pupil in whom, together with the refinements of Latin sentence structure and prosody, some hobby or other could be implanted, perhaps some heathenish notion of human greatness, — an insight, however, to which in later years, the boy could revert only with a smile.¹

With this compare the criticism of the South-German, Thiersch, made about 1838, and representing the Oberlehrer where the previous twenty or thirty years had placed him.

These causes — their intellectual distinction, splendid professional ability, respectable salary, and prospects in proportion to inner worth — taken together with the considerate treatment of schoolmen, have elevated them as a class *pari passu* with their increase in efficiency, integrity, and skill, and have won for them, in most provinces, a respect and recognition in social circles which formerly they did not possess, and which reacts most advantageously upon them and their condition. A young Oberlehrer of prominence is therefore secure in his social position; he is the peer of officials in other classes, including the highest, and every year brings instances of marriages between Oberlehrer and women from the leading families in civil service — those of generals, state councillors, provincial executives or directors.²

¹ Freytag, *Bilder aus d. d. Vergangenheit*, iv, p. 122.

² Thiersch, *Oeffentlichen Unterrichts*, i, p. 460.

These are two totally different figures. One is still the mechanic, the laborer, oblivious to the significance of the task at which he toils; the other is an inwardly developed, self-centred personality, conscious of an important mission and easily master of the means with which to fulfill it. As has been seen, the change found its outward support and encouragement in altered political and social relations, but its essence is an intellectual and spiritual transformation. The schoolmaster is no longer a forlorn and ridiculous pedagogue, alien to the refinement of his time and standing wholly apart from its intellectual aspiration and achievement. He has become the chief interpreter of those aspirations, the bearer and conscious trustee of the nation's ideals. In place of the old clerical task-master either living in, impatient scorn of his trying duties and longing for the day of his release, or, if the promise of this has failed, dwindling to small proportions in weakness and self-depreciation, — in place of this has come a man of power with eyes and heart upon his work; one whose religion now clothes and warms an absorbing human purpose, and whose mind is open for a life of growth and ripening insight.

The work of training boys to an appreciation of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful calls for a nature different from that demanded for drill in grammar. Add to the faith in this trinity the further conviction that the Good, the True, and the Beautiful are the supremely Useful, and that all together serve the purpose of a noble patriotism, and you have the dominant motives of the new-humanist Oberlehrer. But the maintenance of such ideals would probably not have been possible without a fundamental shift in the point of view and method of approach which characterizes the new period when compared with the old. The teacher, trained in the stirring centres of intellectual life which the new universities of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had become,

shared perforce the new organic attitude toward all mental activity. He was no longer content passively to receive; he himself must produce, create: only thus could he enter into sympathetic relations with the works and workers of antiquity. True, his predecessor had produced industriously, but the results were after all only new arrangements of objective puzzle-elements. To his new vision, the whole mass of individual human experience lay disclosed and waiting to be expressed in rare and beautiful forms; the personal, inner being was challenged to reveal itself. This conception of education the schoolman brought to bear at once upon the pupil. He set himself to explore his nature, and with the magic instrument of classical lore, to mould the spirit of the youth to a "harmonious whole" through self-activity. Thus, in theory at least, the child became the centre of the process. His schooling is no longer merely the necessary and disagreeable preliminary operation of former times; it has a vast absolute worth in itself. The new-humanist becomes a zealot, outstripping his contemporaries in the church. Wolf, on fire with his new ideals, despised both church and clergy, and his personality and conceptions reacted powerfully on the class that he had helped to create. The sanction of their work was the profound conviction of its final and eternal import.

In spite, however, of lofty ideals of "*harmonische Bildung*" as applied to the pupil, the dominating trait of the scholar-teacher was his absolute reverence for scholarship which he came more and more to identify with *Bildung*. The means to this end came in his eyes to suffice for all pedagogical "method", a superfluity for which he had a cordial contempt. In the absence, therefore, of any well-ordered science that could confer external dignity upon this business of his with boys, a business that he no longer undervalued, he founded his claim to public consideration on his

scholarship, and therein took rank close behind the university professor. Indeed, to join the ranks of the latter was the goal of his literary ambition, and during the first half of the nineteenth century such promotions were frequent. Even today, as Paulsen declares, the teaching staff of one of the larger *Gymnasien* could at any moment take over a considerable portion of the duties of the philosophical faculty in a university. Thereon primarily rests the prestige of the German Oberlehrer-class; its members are judged and valued as scholars rather than as teachers.¹

On the financial side there has doubtless been some improvement, as Thiersch noted in 1838. Most of the old humiliating duties with their pittances attached had disappeared one after the other. A Königsberg rector in 1808 was still paid as follows: salary, 138 Talers; legacies, 27 Tl.; excise reimbursements, 11 Tl.; burial fees, 50 Tl.; singing in the Gregorius circuit, 10 Tl.; fuel money, 120 Tl.; tuition, 640 Tl. Total, 996 Tl., the value of which may, perhaps, be estimated by comparison with Paulsen's quotation of 400 Tl. as the expenses of a modest student at the University of Halle about 1780. The assistant teachers at Königsberg received less, of course, down to 496 Tl.; the cantor, 332 Tl.² By 1830, the boys' singing circuits had generally disappeared, and the salary of the instructors seems to have come in a fixed amount, though not greatly increased. Thus a well-endowed school at Eisleben pays in 1836, from 508 Tl. to 798 Tl. to its class teachers; to the rector 1113 Tl.³ For 1820, Lexis puts the average income for directors as low as 700 Tl., and for the assistants, 300-400 Tl.⁴ Thiersch would seem, therefore, to have been, perhaps, pardonably optimistic in his ascription of a "respectable salary". In his economic situation the

¹ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 389.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 162, 388.

³ Grosse, *Beiträge*, p. 18.

⁴ Lexis, *Besoldungsverhältnisse*, pp. 7 ff.

Oberlehrer in 1820 faced a long and wearisome struggle which only the last decade has brought to a satisfactory issue. This will be touched upon later. It is well, however, to observe here that the sequence previously noted is still maintained — training, personal fitness, and adequate service come first followed later by economic reward as a result.

* In literature, Ebner finds the Oberlehrer of this period filling a position far better than before or since, though naturally he appears in aspects that are best adapted to literary treatment. Ebner says:

During this period there developed that type of "professor" who exists even today in the harmless jokes of the comic papers; the professor with thoughts ever on his Greeks and Romans, buried in uncommonly thorough, but chiefly useless investigations which, added to the burden of instruction, so completely absorb him that the equipment of his outward man is wholly forgotten in consciousness of inner worth, and trivial affairs of daily life are mentioned with disdain; the absent-minded professor, who in season and out of season quotes his beloved ancients, who is almost invariably a bit "peculiar," but whose heart is nevertheless in the right place. There are scarcely any poor teachers among these old geniuses. To be sure their methods are at times right curious, and would not always satisfy modern requirements, but the honest rapture over the antique and its beauty, which, in spite of all tediousness, flashed from their instruction, affected the listener as does any sincere conviction. They may, therefore, be called good teachers, if Goethe's remark in "*Wahlverwandschaften*" is true, that a teacher who can arouse appreciation for a single good poem, has accomplished more than one who hands us down whole series of nature forms classified by shapes and names.¹

5. *Philologie und Philolog*

We have surveyed somewhat minutely the various factors that converted the still ignoble schoolman of the eighteenth century into the worthy and interesting, if not outwardly as yet wholly enviable Oberlehrer of the nineteenth. The latter shines still in all the radiance of the humanistic enthusiasm to which the fusion of Greek with German thought in

¹ Ebner, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 122.

the poet-prophets of the nineties at Weimar had made him heir. The remainder of this second period sees a less attractive development. Once more the school becomes the centre of a struggle involving opposing intellectual forces, but not as in the eighteenth century, when a vital movement rejuvenated a system that was effete; we have now to deal with a fluctuating contest between that same vital movement continued in the new century, and its own first offspring, — classical philology. A final understanding has been, indeed, the product of the past few years only, but as the date of the new Empire, 1871, seems to form an important turning point, we use it to mark the transition.

As indicated in our treatment of the beginnings of the New Humanism, that development can best be understood as a result of the pressure of the time for reality, for things alive with which to grow and be inspired; hence the sense for the "whole man", hence the poetry and religious fervor. Over the first two decades of the new century with its immense educational strides, there presided still the creative spirits of the old — Wolf, Goethe, Schleiermacher, Humboldt. With the passing of these, however, the refreshing glory of the former time seems to have grown dim. The sources which they used remain as before, explored into ever diminishing recesses by new and more persistent scholars, but the inspiration has relaxed. And as this real life ebbs away there emerges that ruinous doctrine of Wolf's to take its place. "Formal discipline," that is the secret! Such is the general persuasion, and lo, the text is fixed for the activities of the new generation.

That the passion for classical studies was not universally contagious even under the spell of such a man as Wolf, appears from the latter's complaints in 1819, over his half-empty class rooms.¹ The philologist, Boeckh, proposed

¹ Arnoldt, *Fr. Aug. Wolf*, i, p. 277.

to force the correct attitude by a state examination or required courses on these subjects. It is certainly illuminating to observe, as Paulsen does, not without a trace of sarcasm, that at this period, of all periods, and especially at this university (Berlin), compulsory lectures should have appeared necessary to open the eyes of the youth to the worth of a classical education.¹ They were intended for the benefit of students from the other faculties of theology or law, who at an earlier time had thought it indispensable to listen to the interpretation of the classical masters. The compulsory lectures were not introduced, and soon the philologues were entirely *unter sich*, advancing science in highly technical courses of critical philology under the leadership of such scholars as Hermann and Ritschl. Of the latter's love of truth, it is reported that he read the entire Homer through between the lectures on successive days in order to verify his statement that a given word occurred but once. Of another of the same school, that he lectured "for the entire hour on the four kinds of ink in which an old manuscript was written, and which his keen vision, fine scent, or careful eraser had disclosed".² Such men are admirable embodiments of certain desirable moral qualities, no doubt, but scarcely commendable for the duties of teachers; and their work, which was typical of the entire university world, was reflected immediately in the men they produced. The dearest ambition of the pupils of these specialists was to send back to them from the schools, fresh pupils trained in their methods. This was what they had learned, this they naturally preferred to teach, in spite of the frightful student-mortality among the lads they dealt with. Herbart saw the root of the trouble clearly:

¹ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 251.

² Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 448.

The teachers in the *Gymnasien* must be philologues, either all of them or by far the greater part. It is unavoidable, therefore, that they should concentrate that special interest which every scholar cherishes for his own branch of study, upon a point in the past which has a most remote, often scarcely perceptible connection with the true and significant interests of the present. The pupils, on the other hand, are living and growing in the present; hence unavoidable friction! The teachers become ill-tempered, strait-laced, and pitiless; in short, they cease to be teachers, if, indeed, they ever were such.¹

And he appeals to experience for confirmation. One is not surprised, therefore, to find a ministerial warning as early as 1825 to the following effect:

The masters, mostly philologues, give their instruction as though all their pupils intended to devote themselves to the study of philology. They engross themselves in long disquisitions upon the by no means well established use of the particles, upon versification, text criticism, etc. With instruction of this character the pupils can scarcely fail to shrink from studying a language the whole content of which is presented in the form of endless difficulties with which they must wrestle.²

So Thiersch ten years later observes the conditions and sees little hope for improvement. He says:

The complaint is likewise made that the seminars are merely giving a theoretical training to the future philologue and not a practical training to the oncoming schoolman; that in not a few cases their members, on becoming teachers, understand the duties of their position so little that they lecture to their immature pupils on the profoundest and most refined interpretations of grammar and criticism; that not infrequently they care solely for their specialty, have no sympathy with youth or enthusiasm for its mental training, and thus prove more of a burden than an aid to the institution which has reason to be disappointed in them. It is obvious that the remedy for this condition lies only in the reform of the seminars, but that is difficult to bring about and probably far distant.³

Such conditions were far, indeed, from the intent of Gesner or even of Wolf, whose pedagogical ideas were remarkably modern. As Paulsen remarks:

¹ Herbart, *Päd. Schriften*, ii, p. 149. ² Fischer, *Das alte Gymnasium*, p. 21.

³ Thiersch, *Oeffentlichen Unterrichts*, i, p. 459.

It is a noteworthy fact that the enthusiasm of the eighteenth century for education was almost totally extinguished by the enthusiasm of the nineteenth for scholarship.¹

And he gives an extreme case showing the acute personal feelings which actuated the partisans of the two views. It must not be forgotten, however, as the same writer makes clear, that, in spite of frequent and glaring pedagogical sins perpetrated in the name of science, the fundamental principles of the school method had been thoroughly reformed in the eighteenth century; that in point of demanding self-activity as the basis of education, Pestalozzi's reform for the elementary school had already been worked out for the *Gymnasium* by such men as Wolf, Gedike, and Meierotto.

With the intent to improve the existing situation, and to give the future teacher opportunity for observing good instruction and for teaching under the supervision of an experienced director, a *Probejahr* had been introduced as early as 1826. During this year of preliminary activity, the candidates were to be under constant inspection and direction to determine "their practical aptitude and skill in teaching". The pedagogical aim was doubtless important here, but the measure is embedded chronologically in a mass of politically reactionary legislation that makes an ulterior motive plausible. Thus an order of 1819 demands from the *Consistorien* minute reports of the moral character of candidates;² in 1824, the moral and theological examination is made more rigid,³ and in 1833, what is possibly the main intent of the *Probejahr* finds expression thus:

The *Probejahr* furnishes the royal provincial school board with an unfailing and convenient opportunity to inform itself minutely in respect to the candidates for teaching positions before they are yet appointed, and to learn not only their moral and religious make-up, but especially their political principles, and it is hoped that the opportunity will be used.⁴

¹ Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 275.

² Neigebauer, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

Whatever the purpose, it is evident from the quotations previously given, that the *Probejahr* had little effect. Ritschl's principle prevailed: "He who knows can teach as a matter of course," and Herbart, with a few followers, continued laboring alone for a cause that was not to be officially recognized until 1890.

This absorption in his science and aversion for the practical problems of his art, the solution of which would have brought him into touch with reality, were apparently the primary causes for the inner estrangement of the teacher from world-interests, an estrangement that increased as the century passed. External events contributed to the same results. The measures of reactionary politics that followed closely upon the War for Liberation have been already alluded to. With the exception of the brief, but exciting experiences of 1848, this was the heavy atmosphere in which the teacher lived until the storms of 1866-1871 cleared the air. With Johannes Schulze as moving spirit in the ministry there began, in 1818, a bureaucratization of the whole educational system that left scarcely a detail unregulated. Schools that previously had owed much to local pride and support became now indistinguishable units in the great system. Teachers and directors who before had enjoyed more or less individual initiative now saw their efforts cast more and more into the general groove. Personality in leadership yielded to the regulated colorlessness of officialdom. Not only outward self-direction, but even the inward attitude, especially political, became the subject of a sort of police control. Such pressure could not but drive the scholar, already a sober plodder by virtue of his usually humble origin, and partly paralyzed by his long, exclusive intercourse with books, still further in upon himself.

Further, the Oberlehrer, though recognized as state officials by the *Landrecht* of 1804,¹ received no official ranking with such officers. For directors and so-called "professors", (old and distinguished teachers) this came first in 1843: for the Oberlehrer such ranking was felt to be unnecessary owing to the close connection still unconsciously assumed between the teachers and the clergy. So Lexis defines the situation:

The secondary masters remained still as it were in the shadow of theology. Even though their official character had been expressly recognized in the *Allgemeinen Landrecht*, they stood nevertheless, in the eyes of the world, wholly apart from the judicial and administrative officials, and were classed with the clergy — were ranked, indeed, after the latter. Far from the ways of the world and with scorn for earthly pleasures, they were expected to dedicate themselves to their pursuit of ideals; their material situation, therefore, was ordered approximately on the scale of the lowest paid parson.²

Thus conditions were not favorable for self-assertion, for initiative and innovation. The teacher's work had become immeasurably more significant, and his social status had improved, though not correspondingly. But that confidence of place and power which ripens out of long and conscious adjustment of personnel with function was not yet his. It is not difficult to understand that such men, thoroughly individualized by training and working under varied conditions for a paternal and suspicious government, could scarcely have arrived at a productive class-consciousness. The famous director Spilleke, though praising the class as a whole, "since there exist no more conscientious, industrious, and loyal officials than they" complains of just this lack. "Free unions and societies are springing up everywhere — artists, mechanics, physicians, and especially the elementary teachers are uniting, but of any organization of secondary masters you hear not a word".³ This about 1830.

¹ See above, Ch. ii, Sect. 3.

² Lexis, *Besoldungsverhältnisse*, p. 3.

³ Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Over against this collective lethargy of the Oberlehrer, it is suggestive to place an expression of the ministry in 1845. On January 22, there passed from Eichhorn, the Minister of Education, to Flottwell, Minister of Finance, a proposal that the salary of the Oberlehrer and the judges of the first instance should be regulated on the same basis. This was at once agreed to in principle, and found expression the following year in a public statement to the effect "that by this parallel rating of these two sets of officials the position assigned to the directors and teachers in the *Gymnasien* was none too high".¹ In this proposal there was set up the ladder on which, during the next sixty-four years, the Oberlehrer climbed into his present position in the public service. The steps in this achievement will be enumerated later, but the point is interesting in the present connection for two reasons: first, the principle was established at a time when the Oberlehrer was collectively helpless. Personally, he had little thought of such advancement; his recent elevation as a class had been great and rapid, and he was scarcely more than at home in his new position. The new proposition came, then, as a deliberate announcement of government policy. The teacher, traditionally humble and of secondary consideration, was to be placed side by side in official importance with the judge, a figure whose aristocratic prestige went back to the Reformation. Previously classed with clergy and treated accordingly, his new colleagues in the public mind were to be a purely secular class, with whom he was to share the first honors in the state. Such was certainly the meaning of Eichhorn's proposal.

The second point to be noted is that in spite of the insistent support given this principle by Eichhorn's successors, with few exceptions, it required nearly two thirds of a century

¹ Lortzing, *Gleichstellung*, p. 2.

to secure its fulfillment. The reason for this will become clearer as the Oberlehrer of the next period is discussed, but it may be suggested here. The establishment of equality between two great social classes implies an equality of the functions on which their social status depends, and that cannot be brought about successfully, even by arbitrary enactment, without an inner justification of the proceeding. It is this inner justification which the Oberlehrer of 1845 largely lacked, and which, by 1909, he had more than acquired. Surely, no one will pretend that the shrinking scholar, buried from the world in his philological studies and abstaining on principle from seeking vital points of contact with the minds of his boys, was performing a social service comparable to that of the judge. The latter, in spite of his merely static duties, stood face to face with human life, and was discharging his indispensable service with a well-practised technique and a sure hand. That the work of the Oberlehrer, in the cases of a considerable majority of his young subjects, might better have been left undone can hardly admit of doubt. The high goal, set in 1845, therefore, marks the place the state would have its schoolmasters hold, rather than that to be claimed immediately as of right.

6. "*Formal Discipline*"

The extreme width of the growing gulf between the educational ideal and the teacher's practical efficiency, was reached during the years of reaction after the upheaval of 1848. The year of revolution had raised a prophetic protest against existing educational dogmas, and reforms were proposed in very certain terms: restriction of classical instruction in favor of modern languages and natural sciences; restriction of Latin in favor of Greek; restriction of exercises in oral and written use of Latin in favor of reading for the sake of content. This is the program and its central thought is

contained in one of the theses formulated by Hermann Köchly, the chief promoter of the movement:

It is an error as gross as it is widespread to confuse classical culture with the ability to speak and write Latin, inasmuch as many are masters of the latter who possess not a trace of the former, and *vice versa*.¹

But this gleam of insight was extinguished in the failure of the movement as a whole, and the succeeding darkness was the blacker because of it.

For its emphasis the reaction of the ensuing years went back to the sixteenth century: grammar for the schools, and catechism for the church. With the second of these terms we are not greatly concerned; the cherished policy of von Raumer and Wiese, his chief adviser, in trying to reconcile heathen philology and an abjectly pious Christianity, had no lasting effect on the Oberlehrer, in spite of renewed regulations aimed at his religious attitude. But the concentration on grammar is a prominent feature of the stage that higher education has now reached. The ever increasing specialization in the university, and therefore in the taste and training of the teacher, the steadily growing mass of knowledge weighing down each individual subject in the curriculum, — both of these factors had resulted in an overloading of the school program, and the popular outcry against it had been increasing in volume for a quarter of a century. The new policy demanded unification, simplicity, concentration, — an admirable purpose surely, but one to be secured through means singularly welcome to the philologue. Moritz Seyffert, director at Joachimstal, put it clearly:

It is the riches of the spirit that have caused our destruction, and we acknowledge now with shame and sorrow that only the poor in spirit are blessed even in education. We have turned the mind of

¹ Köchly, *Vermischten Blätter zur Gymnasialreform*, 1847-8. Heft 1, These 32. Cf. Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 469.

the boy into a receptacle for the most varied information which he could either give back undigested, or assimilate only with immoderate effort, but which never gave him the glad sense of mental growth.

Then comes the remedy:

*It is simply and solely the principle of formal discipline that confers upon philology, as the medium of higher education, her unique and eternal worth that nothing can replace, and that constitutes her at the same time the universal culture-instrument. The two lines of the Latin distich conceal a store of magic powers with which anyone may conjure who learns to put the parts together for himself.*¹

Of course this is none other than the miserable procedure of the seventeenth century suddenly become philosophical and distinguished. The doctrine of formal discipline here reigns unchallenged over a sterile soil from which Wolf or Heyne would have been the first to turn away. It must not, indeed, be supposed that Seyffert's poor, contracted vision reached the furthest horizon of his time. Wiese, the moving spirit in the ministry, in discussing the teacher's examination regulations of 1866, declares emphatically that "the teacher is not desired to be the exclusive representative of a scientific specialty, but is expected to participate in the task of the school as a whole, whether it be training or instruction".² And he hoped, precisely as Schulze did in 1831, to make sure of an all-round training by retaining the general examinations in religion, history, philosophy, pedagogy, geography, ancient languages, and French, although great freedom was allowed in selecting major subjects.³ But his task was hopeless; such measures were quite inadequate. As long as teachers were trained from Seyffert's point of view in the universities, a reform by means of regulations was impossible. And as late as 1872, there were thirty-eight philologists from the school of Friedrich Ritschl, serving as *Gymnasium* directors.⁴

¹ Seyffert, *Das Privatstudium*. Cf. Paulsen, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 500.

² Wiese, *Lebenserinnerungen*, i, p. 308.

³ Wiese, *Verordnungen und Gesetze*, ii, p. 65.

⁴ Fischer, *Das alte Gymnasium*, p. 26.

A fitting close to the account of this depressing period in the Oberlehrer's career may be sought in the testimony of August Baumeister, the editor of the well-known German educational compendium. It is given at some length as a remarkably expressive picture of the situation.

The ancient pedantry put on a new dress. Arid spirits bored their way into grammar, buried themselves for years at a time in the subtlest inquiries into the special usages of their favorite authors, and then in the interests of sound scholarship could not deny themselves the satisfaction of giving as much of it as possible to the pupils — much to the sorrow of the latter. Ciceronianism, reappearing as a school-dogma at this time, saw the highest goal of school performance in a laboriously turned period; text-books were prepared on the style of rhetorical Latin, the classical authors were suffocated beneath a mass of usually quite superfluous notes *ad nauseam pueri*, and textual criticism was carried to a point worthy of a university course in philology. Even comparative philology and etymological research were at once lugged into the class-room, and filled the young brains with such a tangle of roots and stems, consonantal changes and lost letters that the content of the works that they were reading was often wholly obscured. Such absurdities were quite the usual thing. I remember in my own experience seeing a class in *Prima* bored the whole hour through with the exposition and criticism of a single sentence in Thucydides, or with two or three lines of Sophocles.

Thus the demands upon the pupils in the examinations were excessively increased, and gave occasion for crookedness of every sort. I myself, shortly after becoming director of a *Gymnasium* of high standing, speedily discovered that the mischief of printed translations was raging in all classes down even to *Nepos*. An open appeal to the pupils and the promise of immunity brought in several big baskets full of these goods; and little by little several pupils and parents admitted that it was solely necessity and desperation resulting from the unreasonable demands of individual teachers that had driven them to practise the deception.¹

¹ Baumeister, *Handbuch der Erziehungslehre*, i, p. xxii.

CHAPTER III

THIRD PERIOD, SINCE 1871

THE PROFESSIONAL OBERLEHRER

1. *New Motives*

WITH the stirring events of 1870-1871, a new era was opened in German education, one that has distinctly modified the professional character of the German teacher. The fusion of the long-divided people into a compact nation with common aims and interests, brought to a focus, as it were, the many impulses to progress that had been vainly seeking effective expression. Natural science, together with its practical applications to industry, the whole field of invention, and the resulting improvement in communication and transportation, had been promoted and exploited in Germany as everywhere else. But nothing seemed to attain its proper fulfillment so long as the political union, longed for since the Liberation, was still in abeyance. It would be difficult to overestimate the direct and indirect effects of this national factor in bringing about the educational transformation consummated within the past forty years. Seyffert, already quoted,¹ an educator of distinction and influence, could condemn the study of German as superfluous in 1852. Moreover he was of the opinion that "the efforts for national unity are a blight on the youth in so far as they detach themselves from the roots of Humanity in classical antiquity". Today the inculcation of patriotic principles is the most conspicuous, not to say obtrusive, note in German training and instruction. This fact is simply one phase of a profound change of relationships. From the very acces-

¹ See page 64.

sion of William I the familiar tutelage and distrust of the people yielded to the freer and more confident relations between sovereign and subjects that encouraged the latter to self-assertion. When the nation came together, and the first thrill of a common national consciousness went through its members, all things became new. The precious union, so dearly won, must be defended and maintained. The appeals to the idealism of the Restoration were renewed, but on the higher plane of a bold self-confidence looking into a great future. In the new consciousness of power and lofty destiny, all the old tools were sharply scrutinized and judged as to their fitness for the new purposes; such as were outworn were condemned, and those that were still useful were re-adjusted.

It was inevitable, therefore, that the early years of the young empire should have witnessed a vigorous over-hauling of that institution on which it had traditionally staked its hopes. For forty years the criticism has been constant and merciless. The chasm between the school and the modern life which it was to serve became at once apparent as soon as the demands of the new era were clearly formulated. Sole dependence upon classical antiquity was seen to be as great a national insult and social blunder as was similar dependence upon French culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This convincing point of view found a convincing exponent in 1890, when the present Kaiser, drawing on his experience at Cassel in the seventies, showed the folly for German ambitions of such education. Addressing the conference for school reform which he himself had summoned, he said:

Anyone who has himself attended a *Gymnasium* and looked behind the scenes knows where the trouble lies. It lies above all in the absence of a national basis of instruction. The *Gymnasium* must be given a German foundation; we must breed patriotic young Germans and not young Greeks and Romans. Gentlemen, the men we

turn out should not look upon the world through colored glasses, but should use their own eyes and find pleasure in that which their fate confronts them — namely, their native land and its institutions. In bringing this about it is now your duty to assist.¹

But a change must be brought about in habits of mind and character, as well as in institutions; the new generation must have power, and in a new direction. Seeking the causes for the failure of the school, the Kaiser declared in the same address:

The chief cause is that the *Philologues*, the *beati possidentes* of the *Gymnasium* since 1870, have laid their main emphasis upon subjects of study, upon learning and knowing, and not upon the cultivation of character or upon the needs of life. This tendency has, in my opinion, reached an extreme beyond which it simply cannot go. There is less value attached to power than there is to knowledge, a fact that is clearly revealed in the demands made in the examinations. It is assumed that the pupil must above all know as much as possible; whether or not that fits him for life is of minor consequence. When you converse with one of these gentlemen on the subject, and seek to make clear to him that a young man should be given some sort of training for practical life and its problems, the reply is always made that that is no affair of the school; the chief function of the school, they say, is mental gymnastics, and if these mental gymnastics were properly carried out, the young man would be in a position, by virtue of these gymnastics, to perform everything necessary for life. I believe it to be impossible to proceed further with this point of view.²

Because of its source this forceful statement served as the climax of long-gathering feeling, and the signal for a fresh and bitter campaign. In polite literature since the middle of the century, the indulgence and amusement with which the "professor" was previously regarded gradually turned to scorn, and there began "the long series of teacher-characters drawn by a hateful pen."³ The schoolmaster appears henceforth:

¹ *Verhandlungen über Fragen des höheren Unterrichts*, pp. 72, 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³ Ebner, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 135.

as the cranky pedant or as ignorant, partisan, and weak. The Oberlehrer who buries himself among his books and lives wholly for his scholarly, if also mainly fruitless, studies, disappears more and more completely from literature. The teacher is brought forth into public life and compelled to take sides.¹

Similarly, the whole educational process and ideal becomes a fair target for literary derision. After the Kaiser had thus given comfort and prestige to the critics, the battle went on with renewed energy. In 1890, Langbehn's little book, "*Rembrandt als Erzieher*", gave Germany a shock, and caused the "professor" to be yet more coldly regarded.

The "professor" is the German national disease; the present system of educating youth in Germany is a sort of Bethlehemite Slaughter of the Innocents; these two facts cannot be often enough repeated. The professor nowadays actually looks down upon the German people, and the German people look up to the professor; these respective attitudes should be reversed.²

A whole literature of denunciation developed in sympathy for the child "crushed beneath the 'big business' of mind as the pauper is ground down under the 'big business' of centralized wealth".³ To be consistent the masters of these little martyrs must of necessity be cruel "oppressors" or heartless "tyrants".

And in the polite literature from about 1890 on, the secondary teachers are actually slaughtered without mercy, cut down in troops, old and young together, both as instructors and as educators. A school's whole teaching staff now appears in novels and dramas; we listen to shop-talk in the teachers' conference room, attend recitations on the stage, and are given glimpses into the private life of the teachers.⁴

Such a literature implies an interested and sympathetic public, and such a public quickly appeared. As the connection between this new public, and the growth of the non-gymnasial type of school has some significance, it will be well to pause at this point to consider that connection.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

² Langbehn, *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, p. 94.

³ Ebner, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

It has already been observed that the introduction of the *Abiturient* examination in 1788, led at once to a selection of such schools as should conduct it. The schools not selected either maintained Latin instruction in reduced amount or frankly abandoned it, and assumed the form of "people's schools" (*Bürgerschulen*). The entire group of these latter schools received provisional examination regulations from Schulze in 1832, and were given certain minor privileges of "qualification" — one-year military service, admission to the postal, forestry, and building services — subject to the requirement of Latin.¹ Much abused under the reactionary ministries of Frederick William IV, as hot-beds of materialism and revolution, they received adequate recognition first in 1859, the birth year of the *Realgymnasium*, and began a struggle for equal rights with the *Gymnasien*. In 1870 the university was opened to graduates of the *Realgymnasium* for the study of mathematics, science, and modern languages. Since then the bars have gone down rapidly before both *Realgymnasium* and the *Oberrealschule*, until, in 1900, practical equality of privileges was achieved. As a result, out of fifty different careers only four remain open exclusively to graduates of the *Gymnasium*, — theology, royal library service, state archivist, and higher postal service.²

This progress is important because it marks the conquest of a set of ideas which were intellectually disturbing. In 1863, pupils in the *Realschulen* of both kinds numbered 46% of those in the *Gymnasien*; in 1890, 67%; in 1910, 107%. As for total increase in secondary education, the pupils of all the secondary schools gained 105% between 1863 and 1890, and 234% between 1863 and 1910; while the population for the same periods had increased but 62% and 117%

¹ Neigebauer, *Preussischen Gymnasien*, pp. 345 f.

² Dickmann, *Berechtigungen*.

respectively.¹ On this basis one may fairly assume that secondary schooling in Germany is just twice as significant today, in proportion to the population, as in 1863. And, further, that the balance has now actually shifted numerically in favor of the modern instruction.

A tabular comparison of the educational opportunities that today are open on fairly uniform terms to the German youth, with those afforded, under similar conditions, by the curriculum of 1856, will illustrate clearly the two extremes. For the sake of simplicity the provisions for singing, gymnastics, and some minor electives are omitted:

	1856. ² Gymnasium	1910. ³ Gymnasium	Realgymnasium	Oberrealschule
Religion	20 hours*	19	19	19
German	16 "	26	28	34
Latin	86 "	68	49	
Greek	42 "	36	English 18	English 25
French	17 "	20	29	47
History	} 25 "	17	17	18
Geography . . .		9	11	14
Mathematics . . .	32 "	34	42	47
Natural Science .	8 "	18	29	36
Drawing	6 "	8	16	16
Writing	6 "	4	4	6
Total	258	259	262	262

* An "hour" is one period of recitation per week through the year.

The above table makes clear that the secondary school has become a matter of exceedingly important public concern. It forms the well-nigh exclusive avenue to preferment and distinction, and is at last fairly well adapted to the needs and abilities of a varied patronage. It touches life at more points and more completely than formerly. It is far more representative of the intellectual interests and activities of the nation.

¹ Cf. *Pädagogisches Archiv*, 1910, p. 526. Rethwisch, *Deutschlands höheres Schulwesen*, Anhang 2.

² Wiese, *Verordnungen und Gesetze*, i, p. 67.

³ *Lehrpläne und Lehraufgaben*, pp. 4 ff.

Political changes, then, bringing with them great economic and social vitalization; new directions for intellectual achievement; violent agitation and attack upon old educational forms; the rise of a new educational ideal and the extraordinary public demand for education of every sort; — these factors constitute perhaps the most obvious forces that have been brought to bear on the pedant-schoolmaster of the mid-century, and have greatly changed, if not quite completely transformed him. The extent of his remaking is not unlike the change observed in the curriculums just compared. Actually to handle the entire list, in its present extent, is naturally not demanded of him, but he has been obliged to open his heart, to extend his vision and sympathetic appreciation to the entire range of subjects offered. In other words, he has been adjusted to the mental life and needs of the world about him. And coincident has been his rise to the social level set for him by Eichhorn in 1845.

2. *Educational Readjustment*

The Oberlehrer class has undergone a certain mechanical dilution, as it were, from its historic classical purity, through the admission to its numbers of instructors in the *Realschulen* where the classical philologue is of minor importance. These instructors were themselves, of course, products at first of the *Gymnasium* and university, but had found their careers in teaching modern branches. Until their institutions had won the long-coveted university privileges, their attitude was deprecatory and apologetic. In the fifties, when the *Realschule* was in especial disfavor, it was their policy to convert it wherever possible into a *Gymnasium*. And even today one who is not a partisan of the new forms on principle is apt to regard the *Gymnasium* alone as really distinguished. On the other hand, the more independent of

these minds, united in the *Realschulmännerverein* of 1875, fought tirelessly for the recognition of the new school-form; and their success reacted as a broadening influence upon the whole class.¹

Another solvent of the old relationships, and one that acted with especially strong and subtle force, was the organization of the Oberlehrer, during the dozen years after 1872, into a formal *Standesverein* or professional association. This group made university training alone the basis of its membership, and included men from all types of school. Its original purposes were economic and social, hence it exerted a peculiarly compelling influence in abolishing minor differences that interfered with the success of these purposes and in arousing the rutted philologue to fresh and living issues. There will be more to say of this later.

But the chief feature in the readjustment of the secondary master is his radically different conception of his work. It must be admitted at once that this change is as yet incomplete, that many still fail wholly to see whither the new movement tends, and that many of the leaders, among them notably that patron-saint of the German Oberlehrer, Friedrich Paulsen, find the old ideals sufficient. Nevertheless, the accomplished change is so great, and the influences in its favor are so many and so strong that further progress in the same direction seems inevitable. As has already been seen, the purpose and goal of the mid-century education was still the "*harmonische Bildung*" of New Humanism, but with the "harmony" reduced essentially to one instrument and usually to one string — formal training in the classical languages. Over against this set Rudolf Lehmann's summary of the aims of education in 1900:

¹ Lexis, *Reform des höheren Schulwesens*, p. 13.

Not scholarly information as the goal of the school course, but culture leading to an appreciation of the world and of man, to a high moral conviction and practical efficiency; knowledge of the past not as an end in itself but for the service of modern national life: in the place of formal, rhetorical training, an intelligent power over actual conditions and materials — that is the dominating spirit of higher education as it reveals itself in unity and variety according to the latest revision of the Prussian school regulations.¹

This is the task of a prophet and seer. It has become profoundly significant, challenging the whole nature in its breadth of opportunity, and claiming a man's utmost devotion for its limitless ideals. Instruction has given place to education. The old *Lehrbeamter* has become an *Erziehungsbeamter*; and his stature has immeasurably increased. To fill his present position he must be a personality capable of interpreting all that crosses his path in its true and large relations, and must be bent on giving his interpretation force and effective direction. To the boy he "represents the coming man", but adequately to discharge that responsibility he has come to feel that he may no longer confine his relations solely to the boy. He has become the *Kulturbeamter* at large. And while the scholar in the university is lost to the world in his special research, it has become the function of the Oberlehrer to make the culture of the university available to society. The university professor produces, the Oberlehrer receives, unifies, assimilates, and transmits, both in instruction and in the example of his whole mental and moral attitude. To quote again from Lehmann:

Thus, unannounced and almost unintended, a new type of teacher, the creature of social conditions in their historical development, has taken the place of the scholar-humanist. This is the man of the world who supplements his high intellectual pursuits with experience and personal observation, and who seeks to realize a well-rounded and many-sided existence. As the priest or sage bestows upon his disciple the mystic unction that he himself received; as the scholar

¹ Lexis, *Reform des höheren Schulwesens*, p. 370.

trains his pupil to the rigorous toil of the scientist but opens to him also the joys of knowledge; so the world-wise teacher seeks to train his pupils for the world and for life. He imparts to them not mere theory but his practical experience — all that he has looked upon and enjoyed in the world and in art. Even the theory that he teaches he seeks to make fruitful in life. He would have his pupils be men who, accepting life in the world, strive for a delicate balance of their powers and a finished fullness of their personality. And he presents himself to them, even in outward intercourse, as a model on the fine lines of the cultured gentleman.¹

And Paulsen, in his address at the founding of the national association of Oberlehrer in 1904, spoke of present conditions when he said:

The instructor in the *Gymnasium* must possess a culture that is more universal and more comprehensive than is necessary for the mere scholar or scientific specialist. A philologist or a chemist can give himself up to his special pursuit without reserve. A *Gymnasium* instructor, on the contrary, especially if he deals with the upper classes, must, to be effective, be a man of wide range of interests, of great versatility of mind, of many-sided culture, and rich information. His pupils expect from him little less than that he should know and have read everything; and he must be versed not only in the old but in the modern and most recent literature as well. There is no age in life that attaches such surpassing value to the new as does that of the pupils in the upper classes of our *Gymnasien*; every latest solution of the ancient riddle, every newest revaluation of old values, be it according to Haeckel or according to Nietzsche, every fresh theory of matter or of life, every discovery of yesterday in literary criticism, impresses most deeply the unpractised mind, hungriest for criticism at a time when it is the least capable of it. And woe to the master who knows or has heard nothing of it; he is condemned irretrievably before the court of youth as antiquated and outworn, as one who has no interest in the vital concerns of the present. The teacher is therefore compelled continually to keep his eyes open for all that stirs the time and the youth; the scholar may seclude himself, but the teacher dare not if he hope to retain his sympathy for young life.

The assertion may meet contradiction but I believe it true that our most industrious readers are among the Oberlehrer. They are certainly not among the professional scholars. These read only what

¹ Lehmann, *Erziehung und Erzieher*, p. 152.

their current interests or their next book require. The teacher reads that which has significance for himself as a man and a teacher. I confess that often, and sometimes not without considerable embarrassment, I have had my attention called for the first time by teacher-friends of mine to new and important productions even in fields closely related to my work.¹

Franz Eulenburg urges the same idea, but from a more pronounced social standpoint. Defending the present long period of preparation for the Oberlehrer, he says:

In view of the refined and highly differentiated needs of our civilization, it is of the utmost importance that the Oberlehrer should be men with widely varied interests and education, and possessed of keen aesthetic enthusiasm. It is not specialists or technical experts in various branches that we need, but fashioners of youth with a universal outlook and a universal capacity for assimilation.

It is not, therefore, of prime importance that the Oberlehrer turn out scholarly productions of distinction; it is of importance rather that they consume productively, in order that they may share in the total output and progress of scholarship. In this way they discharge a social function that is indispensable in the mental life of the nation as a whole, and which is comparable to that of the merchant. Just as the latter in economic affairs acts as the important agent of exchange, so must the Oberlehrer act in matters of a scientific and scholarly nature. The results of strict scientific investigation are theirs to turn to account and render productive for great portions of the people. In the smaller cities they are the trustees of the higher culture and must share in its promotion. That is a task which requires efficient personalities. The better to perform this weighty social obligation, the higher teaching class must be, from the first, in closest possible touch with intellectual affairs, and that requires a thorough and prolonged course of study.²

It is clear that a new profession has arisen — that of the secondary-master who can see life steadily and see it whole, whose business it is to catch up the latest achievements of science, art, and religion, and, giving them their place in his whole-view, inspire the new generation with his vision. To him speaks not only the university investigator, but every

¹ Paulsen, *Die höheren Schulen Deutschlands*, pp. 26 ff.

² Eulenburg, *Soziale Lage*, pp. 54 ff.

writer, actor, and preacher who has a message. The labor leader and the social worker are his constant teachers; economic and political life have to him a clear course and a thrilling meaning. To the adult he is the sane, resourceful, sympathetic critic of life; to the eighteen-year-old youth, he is the fountain of idealism and the master of the future. Such men are today teaching in Germany in no inconsiderable numbers.

The cleavage in function between this class of men and the class of university professors ought to be increasingly clear, and is becoming so. The training, the work, the outlook, the spirit and attitude, differ *in toto*, although some of the best friends of the Oberlehrer to whom the ancient traditions are dear, seek to minimize the fact. Thus the most contagious idealist of them all, the one whose insight and judgment has counted first and most in German education, recurs ever and again to the plea that participation in the advancement of science is the *sine qua non* for the maintenance of the high worth of the *Gymnasium* and of its masters. With generous appreciation for the other phase of the teacher's work, he declares that this and this only, on the part of some at least, will save the precious reputation of the *Gelehrtenschule*.¹ The pedagogical seminar year seems to him unfortunate in its influence on such as have the scientific spirit,² and the *Probejahr* is to his mind wholly useless. With all this Paulsen seems not only not to regard the teacher's new work in education as a full substitute for his past scholarly achievements, but also fails so far as appears, to point out that the field of activity to which the modern teacher finds himself more and more confined, may itself contain rich opportunities for scientific observation and

¹ Paulsen, *Höheren Schulen Deutschlands*, pp. 20 ff.

² Paulsen, *Höhere Lehrerstand*, pp. 10 ff. Paulsen, *Gelehrten Unterrichts*, ii, p. 626.

interpretation. Speaking of such men as do, in spite of a burdensome program, succeed in getting into print, he admits:

A large portion of them put this through, often under depressing conditions and only with the utmost determination; often, too, at the expense of health and physical equilibrium.¹

This Paulsen deplores but approves. To him there is apparently no inconsistency in urging men to perform, under enormous handicap, a kind of work that is essentially apart from their profession, that divides their interests, and that places them in competition with men who give their entire time to that alone.

The impossibility of this demand, the injustice of it, and, finally, its uselessness under the new conditions, were felt so strongly as to turn the second national gathering of the Oberlehrer in 1906, into an earnest protest against it. The executive of the associated organizations had been urged to send Paulsen's address at the previous meeting to the various provincial school authorities as representative of the wishes of the Oberlehrer. This he refused to do, and justifies himself to the association in the *Mitteilungen* No. 6, May, 1906:

It is impossible for us and certainly for the majority of German Oberlehrer to share the conception of our profession which the revered speaker on that occasion set forth. We are not scholars; the time when we were such is irrevocably passed. The most, and to be sure also the least, we can do is to base our activity upon a scholarly foundation, to maintain an unflinching appreciation for scientific research, and to keep ourselves abreast of each advance. We considered this difference in the conception of our profession so fundamentally important that the chief address at the second convention — "The Task of the Secondary Teacher — an Art founded upon Scholarship", — was expressly arranged to supplement Paulsen's speech in this direction.

¹ Paulsen, *Höheren Schulen Deutschlands*, p. 20.

Johannes Speck, also, the foremost promoter of a great, national Paulsen-Foundation for the furtherance of these ideas in memory of the revered educator, has shown their need of modification, and his views represent, perhaps, the clearest convictions among Oberlehrer today. For Speck the pedagogical idea is indispensable:

The school sets us a profusion of tasks the execution of which demands more than mere scholarship; indeed, the pride of scholarship frustrates it.¹

Scholarly activity has value

only in so far as it serves to broaden and deepen the knowledge that must vitalize instruction.

I am further of the opinion that the nature of our professional service may be happily designated as an art upon a foundation of scholarship, if one but bear in mind that the maintenance and enlargement of this foundation, the mental capital with which we must constantly operate, is a task to be accomplished only through unremitting exertion.²

Others also have defined plainly the new position. Speaking of the warrant of the pedagogical movement, Karl Fricke says:

The fact was emphasized, and rightly, that the teacher's proper task is not to conduct highly specialized investigation, but rather to make the results of scholarship available for the purposes of general culture; that the creative feature in the work of instruction is to be found above all in the choice of material from the broad fields of knowledge and in the selection of the correct method of presenting it.³

So too August Baumeister, dealing with the charge that the new pedagogue is a "Method-monger", bluntly says:

We are most willing for the time-being to accept this slur, if such it be, for the teacher as such has neither the professional nor moral obligation to make independent contributions to scientific scholarship. This declaration should be made for once with the utmost frankness, as a protest against demands that have often worked

¹ Speck, *Wissenschaftliche Fortbildung*, p. 3.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³ Fricke, *Geschichtliche Entwicklung*, p. 24.

injury to our secondary schools, ever since Johannes Schulze began to attach such weight to literary activity in selecting his directors. The majority of practical teachers, if they take their business of education seriously, have not much time left in which to carry on extensive side-enterprises.¹

What all these men tacitly recognize as the urgent need of the modern school, is the single-hearted teacher, the man with undivided purpose, who is trained for his task as it is, and finds in the thing he does that for which he was trained, and not a totally different thing. Just here each earlier type of schoolmaster made shipwreck. Personal worth, high ideals, and industrious application were not lacking, but these and the actual work of teaching boys were somehow never really welded into a consistent, forceful combination. The great boon which the last quarter century has brought to the teacher, lies in the fact that so many new avenues have been opened between himself and his pupils. He has begun to find reliable means for making a determining contact, and it is scarcely probable that he will fail to follow the discovery into its ever enlarging possibilities. A scientific student, indeed, he must always remain, and science he must seek to advance; but for him science must, henceforth, mean the science of his work, and not remote studies that divide his purpose and bear no fruit for his main task save discontent.

Thus, as the master of Wolf's day parted with the clergy, and took up his new and independent profession with enthusiasm and, perhaps, a bit of scorn for his former colleague, so today the Oberlehrer seems called to break off connection, inwardly as well as outwardly, with the university professor, and to enter upon his own peculiar enterprise. That he can do this with a sense of relief is clear; that he has essentially the greater and more vital task to perform will

¹ Baumeister, *Handbuch der Erziehungslehre*, i, Int. xli.

perhaps, become clearer as the task itself becomes better understood. To restore the old progression from a school position to a university chair, (now reduced to an average of one per year)¹ would be disastrous. It would cost the teaching class its best minds and would prevent the development of a closed profession. Even if desirable, however, it would be practically impossible of accomplishment, except in the department of education itself. The two professions have become fully differentiated since the time when, according to Wolf, the sum and substance of the scholar's concern was the science of antiquity.

The outward marks of this differentiation are so conspicuous and important that a statement of their nature may well be added here. When a new conception of education made a fresh pedagogical standpoint imperative, the only effective system available proved to be that devised by Herbart in the first half of the century, and already rooted firmly in the *Volksschule*. Experiments made by Ziller at Leipzig, Stoy at Jena, and especially by Frick at Halle,² proved so satisfactory that in 1890, the Prussian Ministry of Education introduced a *Seminarjahr* in theoretical and practical pedagogy, for all candidates for positions in the higher schools.³ In 1909 centres for this purpose numbered one hundred and twenty-five.⁴ The *Seminarjahr* and *Probejahr* together constitute a training school of respectable proportions. They are spent at different institutions, but always in connection with a full-sized school, where abundant opportunity is given for observing good work in all grades. According to the revised regulations of 1908, the purpose is as follows:

¹ Oberle-Kösters, *Taschenbuch*, p. 243.

² Fries, *Wiss. und prakt. Vorbildung*, pp. 70 ff. Ziegler, *op. cit.*, pp. 382 ff.

³ Beier, *Höheren Schulen*, p. 540.

⁴ Fries, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

During the *Seminarjahr* the candidates are to be made familiar with the theory of education and instruction in its application to the secondary schools and with the methods of the individual subjects of instruction; they are also to be introduced to the practical work of the teacher and educator. The *Probejahr* serves primarily as a test of the teaching skill won during the *Seminarjahr*.¹

The procedure consists of a semi-weekly conference for the candidates, to which all teachers also have access. This is conducted by the director of the school or by a teacher delegated for the purpose, and deals with historical and theoretical pedagogy in general as well as in separate branches, with the history and organization of the schools, and with the problems and principles of management, of school discipline and hygiene. Finally, on the basis of much observation and practice-teaching, there is provision for a thorough criticism of the candidate's individual work to put him so far as possible in possession of the art of instructing and training youth. The *Probejahr* gives opportunity for consecutive teaching under continual inspection and criticism.

The general opinion seems to be, that, in the words of the new regulations of 1908, this plan of practical training "has thoroughly justified itself".² It is variously handled, as would naturally be the case with the sudden assignment of the duty to a large number of practical schoolmen. But it has brought the psychology of school-teaching to full recognition. It has made the sense of the young teacher acute for such a work as Münch's *Geist des Lehramts*, a book that is itself indicative of the wholly changed conception of education. It has powerfully coöperated in shifting the emphasis from the book to the child, and in thus revealing to the teacher the real nature of his profession. On the other hand its results are but partial as yet. Very many teachers are in service to whom the new point of view

¹ Beier, *op. cit.*, p. 542. Also Fries, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

² Beier, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

is foreign. Hence, there is ample ground for the complaints of Professor Münch in a recent criticism, that the idealism of the philologue is apt to be of the wrong kind:

That which our university men call idealism, and which really is their type of idealism, is reducible mainly to devotion to the interests of truth in scientific inquiry, in distinction from practical success in life. But with that other form of idealism that manifests itself in devotion to man, they are unfamiliar.¹

And he notes other shortcomings which are equally obvious. Another expert critic, Ernst Meumann, deals out much more vigorous reproach:

It is strikingly noticeable that in this very time of ours, which is being so powerfully stirred by a profound movement toward scientific education, no one stands so aloof from the movement as the Oberlehrer. In no field of education do we so often find the false conclusion prevailing that the teaching profession requires nothing beyond a knowledge of the branches to be taught. Of the significance of a specialized pedagogical training, of the significance of the psychology of the child and youth, of all the progress that observational and experimental education has made, the great majority of our Oberlehrer, even today, know nothing.²

Such judgments show that conversion is not yet complete; one might say that it had only begun.

A further mark of differentiation appears in the examination requirements and in certain conditions affecting the training of the Oberlehrer. Following the tendency already indicated in the examination regulations of 1831, the provisions of 1866 carried the opportunity for specialization still further, at the same time treating the numerous general subjects with leniency.³ Passing over the regulations of 1887, and noting those of 1898 which are still in force, we see a marked development. No fewer than fifteen independent subjects appear for choice in various combinations, while the

¹ Münch, *Eltern, Lehrer und Schulen*, p. 64.

² *Archiv für d. gesammte Psychologie*, 1910, xvii, p. 212.

³ Wiese, *Verordnungen und Gesetze*, ii, pp. 65 ff.

general examination has been reduced to three subjects: pedagogy, German literature, and religion.¹ That the interests of the school are to receive consideration appears in § 11, 1: "Both in the general and departmental examinations special account is to be taken of the requirements of the secondary schools." A guarantee for this appears in Section 2, according to which, "The examining commissions are to be composed chiefly of university instructors and schoolmen; the chairman is to be a schoolman". In the specifications under the special subjects, the regulations emphasize throughout the peculiar needs of the schools.

To satisfy such an examination, the candidate would seem to be obliged from the outset to work along lines different from those which a prospective *Privatdozent* would select; and there is abundant evidence that this is the case. A broad and thorough intellectual training has always been a matter of honor with the Oberlehrer. His ambition is to secure a comprehensive teaching certificate: i. e., at least two subjects for the full range of the nine-year course, besides the general subjects. He has no fixed plan of studies as has the doctor or lawyer, and the excessive specialization at the university makes his task long and laborious. When it becomes necessary to take sixteen four-hour lecture courses in order to cover once the field of ancient and modern history alone, it is obvious that the old *triennium academicum* will hardly suffice.² As a matter of fact, between 1895 and 1908 the candidates required an average of six and one-half years to make their preparation, and came thus to eligibility, after the *Seminarjahr* and the *Probejahr*, at about the age of twenty-nine.³ The training is longer than that of the judge, and more comprehensive than that of a future university specialist.⁴ Thus the development both in the examination

¹ Beier, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

² Eulenburg, *Soziale Lage*, p. 49.

³ Oberle-Kösters, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

⁴ Lortzing, *Gleichstellung*, p. 18.

regulations, and in the arrangement for the *Seminarjahr* has contributed noticeably to widen the difference between the training of the Oberlehrer and that of the university professor.

An interesting evidence that the Oberlehrer is turning his attention more and more to his proper field, is found in the changed character of the so-called "school reports". As early as 1824, the scheme was hit upon of supplementing these brief annual statements of personnel and operation in each school with a scientific essay by one of the staff. Instructions of 1826 explain the purpose: "This is to oblige the directors and Oberlehrer to continue their studies without interruption, and particularly to keep up their practice in writing Latin."¹ By 1866, these disquisitions had become so technical that the schools were cautioned "to select a subject which shall be intelligible to the lay-public".² Made optional in 1875, they were still generally continued as a matter of honor. In 1866, a third of these were still dealing with questions of classical philology, "for the most part in a severely scientific fashion". In 1908, out of two hundred and seventy-two such productions in Prussia, one hundred and thirty-four were concerned with general questions of pedagogy, while only fifty-nine had any relation to classical antiquity.³

3. *Economic and Social Advancement*

The educational readjustment of the teacher has been attended by marked improvement on the economic and social side. As at the beginning of the century, so now a genuine social service expertly rendered has won its own recognition, first, in much increased public appreciation, and, secondly, in financial reward. When the Department of

¹ *Monatsschrift für höh. Schulen*, 1902, p. 402.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, 1911, No. 30, p. 426.

Instruction set up a definite standard of remuneration for the Oberlehrer, and suggested ranking him with the judge, the proposal was accompanied by a qualification to the effect that "this class of teachers must first mature".¹ Whether at the time this was serious criticism or a mere excuse for delay, it was a perfectly justifiable demand. It is this "ripening" that the past half-century has brought, as seen in the preceding pages, and the Oberlehrer of today, as a type, stands for an exceedingly high degree of efficiency.

Thus in its practical working-out the upward effort on the part of the Oberlehrer has taken the form of a struggle for economic equality with the *Richter*, or judges of the lower courts. Owing to the peculiar structure of the German state, the classes of public servants are numerous, and their rank, rights, titles, and privileges are elaborated with great nicety. The nine grades in the civil service make a fairly accurate basis for measurement of public importance, and class differences are minutely scrutinized. Now it happens that of all state officials, the judges in courts of the first instance are most closely comparable to the Oberlehrer. They are members of a court organized on the collegiate principle, they have approximately the same training as the Oberlehrer, and are not far from the latter in numbers.² They are recruited, in general, from high-class families, often from those in which the judicial tradition has been long continued from father to son; they usually have independent wealth, and enjoy great social respect. This is but the inheritance of the established tradition of centuries. The Oberlehrer, on the other hand, has risen from the masses, has usually been the beneficiary of university scholarships, and has been obliged, while waiting for his appointment, to eke out a scanty living in private tutoring or some similar occupation.

¹ Fricke, *Gesch. Entwick.* p. 22.

² Hue de Grais, *Verfassung u. Verwaltung*, pp. 267, 274.

His sons, if ambitious, have shunned their father's career, for it has been felt to be the most recent and questionable aspirant to public esteem. This, too, is but the inheritance of centuries as we have seen. In matching himself with the judge, therefore, the Oberlehrer had everything to gain and nothing to lose; as a tool with which to aid his designs this comparison was in every way fortunate. That he, the humble schoolmaster, finally made good his claim as peer of his distinguished competitor, was due, however, to the inherent dynamic character of the thing he represented rather than to any fortunes of the struggle. Compared with the static function of the judge this claim of the highly trained and skillful teacher at once disclosed the extent to which modern society has shifted its perspective. The issue was plainly drawn. Given the same amount of formal preparation and the same conditions of life in the case of each class of men, the question stood simply: Does the State consider the training of the nation's leaders to be of importance equal to that of maintaining social order? A century previous the question would scarcely have been formulated; today the German State replies with an emphatic Yes.

The proposition for equal rating was first made in 1845, on the initiative of the ministry, and in the budget of 1872 the plan was actually carried out for a time, again on government initiative and without agitation on the part of the teachers.¹ This was for teachers in the royal schools only, and was not fully realized in practice, but it clearly showed the intent. In 1879 the salary of the judges was advanced by \$375, and then it was that the struggle first seriously began. As a mere fight for salary, the matter is insignificant; in the course of the fitful increases on either side, the actual difference was reduced at one time to somewhat over one hundred dollars.² But it soon became apparent that the

¹ Lortzing, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

social factor was the critical one. Opposition on the part of the Prussian House of Lords, of the Minister of Finance, v. Miquel, and even the luke-warm attitude of certain of the ministers of education, themselves men of legal training, received expression in the policy announced by the ministerial director of secondary education in the House of Representatives on March 10, 1900:

The amount of salary depends frequently upon considerations of historical development. When a class of men receiving a small salary gradually rises in importance, it still receives less than another that was previously paid more; that is an entirely natural evolution.¹

This was the whole of the conservative objection, and its invidious social basis made the contest a bitter one. To be sure, it was claimed besides, that the Oberlehrer increased his salary through private tutoring and boarding students at his home, — a common practice among teachers in Germany; that he worked but twenty-four hours per week, and had a long vacation; but such objections came from the common philistine.

The Oberlehrer, on the other hand, to all of whom this issue had become "the all-absorbing and vital question of our profession" as Director Mertens put it,² took vigorous action. In 1880, the first state conference of Prussian Oberlehrer was held, and the new organization made the problem of equal pay its chief business. Under its supervision or with its encouragement, an extensive campaign literature appeared, the moving spirit in which, Heinrich Schröders, so aroused the public that the teachers of Prussia made him a gift of \$25,000 in token of their gratitude. The common purpose of these publications was to show that the professional qualifications, the conditions of service, and the social obligations of the Oberlehrer were fully equal to those of the *Richter*; that the service of the *Gymnasien* to society

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

² *Bericht*, 29. *ausser. Deleg.-Konferenz.*

was not inferior to that of the law court; and that, primarily for the sake of these schools, an equal rating was necessary to secure the ablest brains for the profession and to give the prestige necessary for the Oberlehrer in the discharge of his duties.

These are familiar arguments even in America, but in Prussia they are convincing. Behind them gathered a steadily increasing weight of public opinion. In 1890, at the close of the school conference already referred to, the Kaiser, with warm appreciation and assurances, added:

There remains a point to be mentioned which is close to my heart. I cannot fail to recognize that in the execution of the new plans for reform a considerable increase must be made in the requirements laid upon the teaching force as a whole. I rely, however, upon its sense of duty as upon its patriotism, and believe that it will give itself with fidelity and devotion to the new tasks. On the other hand, I regard it as indispensable that the material conditions of the teaching class, as expressed in its rank and salary regulations, should undergo a corresponding revision. I desire that especial attention be given to this matter, and that I be kept informed as to the progress made.¹

Shortly afterwards a voice was heard which at that time had still more general access to the hearts of the people than had the Kaiser's. Bismarck had already shown his judgment of values by dedicating the sum of \$300,000 that came as a birthday gift from the people on his seventieth anniversary to the training of Oberlehrer, especially in the form of travel-endowments.² Ten years later, in 1895, the Oberlehrer of Prussia made a general pilgrimage to Friedrichsruh, in honor of the aged hero, and received fresh evidences of his regard. He said, on this occasion:

Had I not found the preparatory work of the secondary teacher already accomplished in our nation, I have no confidence that my efforts, or those in which I have shared, would have succeeded to such a degree as they have. Your task has been to foster those

¹ *Verhandlungen über Fragen d. höheren Unterrichts*, p. 773.

² Beier, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

imponderable values the absence of which in the educated minority of our people would have made the success we have had impossible.

Success in the national development of any country depends chiefly upon the educated minority which that country possesses. An embitterment of the dependent masses can produce an acute sickness for which we have remedies; an embitterment of the educated minority produces a chronic illness difficult to diagnose and difficult to heal. Therefore I place the main emphasis upon the education and disposition of the educated classes in any country. We, in Germany, have no use, in government circles, for any who have not been through your hands.¹

In regard to social and financial conditions, he had the following to say:

You are in large measure justified in your dissatisfaction with your social and material status. A false relation exists between the significance which the secondary teacher possesses for our future and the appreciation which he has hitherto received. The power that resides in the influence which the secondary school wields over the educated classes, and the importance of the educated classes for the prosperity of a nation are considerably underestimated in these days, and I trust that in this respect a change for the better will gradually ensue. For my part, I consider this necessary, if we are to confirm and make permanent the successes that we have won with the aid of the princes and of the army.²

And an address made somewhat later to the Oberlehrer of Saxony, stated his conviction of their all-important service still more broadly:

For us Germans there can never be any doubt that the bond which unites us is no mere institution of external police power; it is rather the inseparable and irresistible community of interests in scientific scholarship, in art, and in poetry that has grown up between all German peoples. The real medium for all this is not the minister of state, but the instructor of the growing youth, the secondary teacher. When the funds from which I established the Schönhausen Foundation were placed at my disposal, I asked myself, "To what purpose shall I apply this million marks?" And I came to the conclusion that the secondary teacher is the most important factor in the patriotic education of the rising generations.³

¹ Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³ Lortzing, *Gleichstellung*, p. 25.

The utterances of this powerful ally were followed soon after by the demands of the school conference of 1900, the same in which the equality of the different school-forms was finally won. In these demands the equality with the judges was expressly justified:

Care must be taken that the salary arrangements of the secondary teacher be made as nearly as possible the same as those of the judge, even though a mere mechanical equality in this respect seems unnecessary; there exist no adequate reasons for an essential difference in the apportionment of the two sets of salaries.¹

With such support as this for their own propaganda, the Oberlehrer gradually won the *Landtag* over to their cause, and in 1909 the state budget brought the long desired result.² To be sure, here again, as in 1872, the change affected only the state-supported institutions. But conditions were different now. Many cities had already outdone the state in their local provisions for their teachers, and, with the principle clearly established, a uniform law for all schools seems to be only a matter of time. The relief and satisfaction with which the success was welcomed are seen in the words of Rudolf Grosse, the editor of the association's periodical, the *Korrespondenz-Blatt*:

Mighty, indeed, is the achievement; above all, our equality with the other professions — it is at last attained, and thereby a goal is won for which, through many decades, the secondary teacher has fought and struggled, not merely in his own interests, but also in the interests of the youth intrusted to him. It will be acknowledged however, on all sides, and that most gladly and gratefully, that this result would never have been possible without the energetic support of a Paulsen, of an Althoff, and chief of all, of His Majesty, the Emperor.

Thus at last the time has come when the secondary teacher can devote himself more fully than was hitherto possible, to his development in educational and intellectual directions.³

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

² *Protokoll d. 32. Delegierten-Konferenz.*

³ Grosse, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

There is an ancient couplet which runs:

“Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores
Sed genus et species cogitur ire pedes.”

(Though Galen may give wealth, and Justin rank bestow,
The master of genus and species must humbly plod and slow.)

The date when such a judgment becomes no longer appropriate may justly mark an epoch. In the slowly changing estimate of society the teacher has outgrown his minority, and by sheer force of the efficiency of his work has conquered a place second to that of no other profession. Some traces of his youthful awkwardness will, no doubt, long cling to him, but every indication points to his rapid modernization. So

The humanist of the Reformation period is followed by the master of the eighteenth century with braided wig, breeches, and black stockings. To him succeeds the scholarly new-humanist, a recluse from the world, but profoundly convinced of his own worth. And to close the procession there appears the “smart” Oberlehrer of to-day whose card bears the inscription “Lieutenant of the Reserve”.¹

And Lehmann notes the same evolution:

There we see the fashionable dandy who comes to school with patent-leather boots and stylish cravat. There appears the brusque and haughty “Officer of the Reserve” who carries over his military ideal of “smartness” into his classroom. There, finally, comes the “correct official” who disposes of his tasks as impersonally as possible, and does his best to shield his dignity behind a genteel aloofness.²

¹ Ebner, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² Lehmann, *Erziehung und Erzieher*, p. 152.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOLIDARITY OF THE OBERLEHRER AND ITS PROFESSIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

1. Features of Prussian School Organization that Promote Solidarity

THE basic features of Prussian school organization from the point of view here selected, have already been introduced in Chapter II, but for the sake of a connected impression they may be recalled briefly, and set in relation to certain other minor characteristics which contribute to the same end.

The fundamental element in which is rooted the identity of interests of one teacher with another is the identity of training culminating in the state examination established in 1810. It is an important premise to this training that it rests in turn upon a twelve-year course in the *Gymnasium* itself — an institution of exceedingly even and uniform character, in spite of the enlarged sense in which the term is now generally applied. It is here that the future schoolmaster is actually moulded, just as is every educated German, and herein, too, lies the secret of the splendid intellectual solidarity of the German people.

Again, as the schools, so the universities throughout the country are drawn on the same lines, measured by the same standards, and filled with the same ideals. Moreover, as if this were not enough, it is the custom of each candidate, as of students in general, to attend more than one university, thus compensating in the end whatever individual differences may exist among these institutions. After six years of this university training, following twelve years at the *Gymnasium*, the average student knows the intellectual life of his

nation, he knows the public that he as a teacher is expected to serve, and he has this knowledge in common with every other prospective secondary school teacher. The *Seminarjahr* and *Probejahr* serve but to analyze, theoretically and practically, the institution and the processes with which the candidate is already thoroughly familiar. Would it be possible better to socialize a public servant, or to give him greater fitness for coöperation with his colleagues in dealing with his problems?

The second point previously noted was the part played by the teacher in the *Abiturient* examination. This is not the place to discuss the pedagogical advantages of this arrangement. The fact is noteworthy that in 1902, for example, eighty-five per cent of the Prussian candidates passed the *Abiturient*, while of French boys under similar circumstances, but forty-five per cent passed the state examinations, though the standard of the *Abiturient* was said to be higher.¹ But the arrangement does indirectly affect the teacher considerably. Giving the examination himself, he becomes master in his own house, as it were. His interest is focussed sharply, and with a sense of responsibility, upon pedagogical questions that otherwise would quite escape him. Lifted above the function of a mere cramming agent he has every reason to take a broad view of aims and methods. Furthermore, the incessant criticism to which he is subjected, chiefly in these examinations, tends strongly to hold him to the certain ground of tested and approved ideas.

The third point already mentioned was the standardization of the schools. In its importance for the present point of view, this factor ranks easily next to the first. The work of the school is fixed by the general plan of studies, this going so far in 1891 as to assign the reading to be done in the various years of the course. Even between schools of different

¹ Henri Bornecque, reviewed in *Monatsschrift für höh. Schulen*, iii, p. 37.

forms, the differences are a matter rather of distribution of emphasis than of subject matter itself. This being the case, it is obvious that any teacher understands in an adequate manner the problems of each of his colleagues throughout the country.

Besides these, a number of contributing factors deserve comment; first, relations outside the school. The organization is so planned that the provincial school authority, the so-called *Provinzialschulkollegium*, which is the immediate superior of each individual teaching staff, is made up, with the exception of the chairman, of men appointed from among the directors of schools, these in turn having been promoted at the average age of forty-four from the ranks of the Oberlehrer. When vacancies occur among the score or so of ministerial advisers, the place is filled from among the most prominent *Schulräten*; i. e. members of the *Provinzialschulkollegien*. The Minister of Education himself is a man with legal training and not a schoolman. Thus the chain of promotion is essentially complete, though the opportunities are few,¹ and the experience and traditions of service are maintained in a compact and continuous form. A good evidence of the community of feeling existing through all grades of the profession is the fact that the state association of Oberlehrer is active in promoting the interests of their superior officers in respect to rank and salary.²

The element of similar salary, pension advantages, and family insurance, as a common bond, is everywhere present in Prussia, though these items are not identical on account of the division into state and city institutions. But such discrepancies as exist outside of Prussia, in Bremen, for example, where in 1911, the Oberlehrer was receiving 53,400

¹ Of the Oberlehrer, one out of twelve; of the judges, one out of five receives promotion. Eulenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

² *Bericht d. Berliner Gym. Lehrer-Vereins*, 1910-1911, p. 73.

marks less than the judges for a twenty-seven year service, are felt to be intolerable.¹

Secondly, within the school certain conditions maintain that are important for their effect in making the ground of common interests as broad as possible. Foremost of these is the fact that all teachers are essentially of one grade. To be sure, there is the *Probandus*, or candidate on probation, the *Hilfslehrer*, or part-time instructor, the *Oberlehrer*, or regular appointee, and the *Professor*, or senior *Oberlehrer*, but it is a progressive, not a stationary gradation, and the average instructor can scarcely fail to advance from one level to the next. This arrangement is the result of experience won through experiment. In 1866 and after, the examination certificates were issued in three grades, qualifying the holder to instruct in the lower, middle, or upper third of the nine-year course.² But the introduction, in this manner, of a large number of incapable teachers quickly proved disastrous, and the lowest grade was abandoned in 1887, leaving the two above as before.³ Even this proved unsatisfactory, and in 1898, the old conditions of 1810 and 1831 were restored with certain modifications. Today, besides the general examination, the candidate must satisfy the requirements in two subjects for the entire nine-year course, or in one subject for the entire course and in two for the partial or six-year course.⁴ The title is the same for all teachers, though differences of excellence are noted in the certificates.

What this arrangement signifies appears most clearly from comparison with a system where the opposite conditions prevail. The French *lycée*, for example, operates with a staff consisting of at least four clearly distinguished grades

¹ *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, Jan. 18, 1911, p. 43.

² Wiese, *Verordnungen und Gesetze*, ii, pp. 65 ff.

³ Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, ii, p. 622.

⁴ Beier, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

of men — *agregés, professeurs, préparateurs, and répétiteurs*. All of these are directly concerned in instruction, yet the degree of training is different in each case, and progress from one class to another depends upon examinations which, under prevailing conditions, are well-nigh prohibitive.¹ It is almost inconceivable that such a heterogeneous group should consult willingly and profitably together on questions affecting the pupils, to say nothing of affairs common to themselves as teachers. And in fact such teachers' meetings as are held appear from inquiries made by the writer in several *lycées*, to be perfunctory and ineffective. One appreciates the more, therefore, by contrast, the complete unity of thought, feeling, and interest that pervades the German *Lehrerkollegium* — a great, scarcely realized asset in German education.

Another feature well calculated to develop solidarity in the teaching staff appears in the provision that a man may not confine himself to one subject or to one year in the course. To this effect the first paragraph of the new service regulations stipulates as follows:

No teacher possesses a right to a particular kind of instruction; hence length of service constitutes no valid claim to instruct in the upper classes. It is generally desirable that a teacher should accompany his pupils through several classes, and that in every class the instruction in several branches should rest in the same hands. So far as possible, the older teachers must not be allowed to teach for many years exclusively in the upper classes, or the younger teachers exclusively in the lower classes.²

The development of this idea is of interest. Previous to the eighteenth century, the rigid class system was the rule. Each teacher was sole master in his own class, and had no concern for those above or below him, except in view of the tuition which he might collect from his pupils for him-

¹ Cf. Farrington, *French Secondary Schools*, pp. 108 ff.

² *Dienstanweisung*, 1910, p. 6.

self. The obviously appropriate policy here was to get the boy as soon as possible from the class below, and pass him on at the latest moment to the class next higher. This evil could lead, at times, to the actual disintegration of the institution into a collection of almost independent schools.¹ But when Latin ceased to be the only subject studied, and the new studies brought unequal grading, the departmental plan was at once introduced; first, at Halle by Francke, and thence adopted everywhere. The new arrangement had the advantage of being adaptable to the individual pupil, and gave opportunity to the teacher for concentration of attention. It was abandoned, however, for the class system again in 1820, when Schulze's leveling rod was applied, though this reversion affected the pupil chiefly. Thus today the teacher retains the advantage of both systems, meeting one class with sufficient frequency to establish personal relations, but passing from year to year of the nine-year course with sufficient regularity to keep him awake to the problems and conditions throughout the entire field.

Other details of school management play into the same result. The "General Principles" of the service regulations contain an interesting caution:

It is expected that the director, even in official relations with teachers, will not unnecessarily emphasize the fact of his precedence.²

He is but *primus inter pares*, and the members of the *Kollegium* do not allow him to ignore or forget the fact. Their monthly conference is especially intrusted with cases of discipline, with the granting of prizes and scholarships, the remission of tuition, and the purchase of books and apparatus. It deals also with the establishment and amendment of rules of discipline as well as the preparation of proposals to the *Provinzialschulkollegium* for modifications in the plan

¹ Paulsen, *Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts*, i, p. 474.

² *Dienstanweisung*, 1910, p. 5.

of instruction or organization. The conference of all the teachers giving instruction to any one class, determines promotions, class reports, and minor penalties. The conference of teachers in any one subject settles questions of method, prepares or revises special teaching syllabi, and makes proposals for new text books.¹

The purpose of the teachers' conferences is to insure the united coöperation of the members of the teaching staff through joint deliberation over problems of training and instruction, both general and special, and through discussion of pupils and of the important occurrences in school life.²

This is the keynote of the Instructions throughout; it appears further as follows:

For the sake of promoting unity in instruction it is recommended that the teachers, particularly those who give instruction in the same grade, visit one another's classes.

The teaching staff can do justice to its difficult task only when its members coöperate in the spirit of unity, whatever may be the independence allowed to the individual. To awaken and maintain this conception in the entire staff is one of the supreme duties of the director. By linking together all the masters into one whole, and by allowing, at the same time, that everyone have liberty to do his best in his own way, he will strengthen in them the feeling of responsibility and the joy in seeing the common undertaking thrive.³

Such injunctions are familiar enough in American school counsels. The point of difference rests in the fact that in the German institution they can be fulfilled and are fulfilled to a great extent by virtue of the uniform training and outlook which may always be assumed in every teacher.

There can be no question that all the above noted conditions under which the Oberlehrer works coöperate powerfully to strengthen his social grip. Whatever his nature, his training insures a strong inclination to act with his fellows and to find in such united effort his own personal expression. The forms which this collective activity assumes and the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

success with which it works will be the subject of the following divisions of this chapter.

2. Professional Organization

Upon the basis of this community of permanent interests which the Oberlehrer possess in their common training, common conditions, and common problems, there has been erected a professional structure of great perfection. With entire truth one of their leaders could declare, speaking of the advantages of a centralized school system,

It must not be forgotten that it was only through this centralization of education that our professional class-consciousness could arise; and that the German Oberlehrer-class, developed upon this basis, assumes now a rank in the national whole, such as is surely nowhere else the case.¹

Only the German elementary teachers can show a superior organization. The Oberlehrer is necessarily a specialist in a certain group of subjects, and shares with his colleagues only the interests which concern the school or teaching-class as a whole. Each *Volksschullehrer*, on the other hand, is for all purposes the duplicate of his brother teacher, and this fact enriches the possibilities of his professional associations to a great degree. The Oberlehrer has his separate professional organizations for his special subjects; in the case of the *Volksschullehrer*, each subject taught in the school receives its due in his one central association, and furnishes but another tie to bind him to the single, all-embracing organization.

It is a matter of pride and evidence of idealism with the present-day secondary teachers, that it was only the pressure of necessity that brought them together to defend their material interests, while associations for intellectual and educational purposes had existed among them much earlier.²

¹ Speck, *Wiss. Fortbildung*, p. 13.

² Oberle-Kösters, p. 142.

The directors of institutions began to organize as early as 1823.¹ Their associations were approved by the authorities, and have ever since furnished opportunity for official conferences which have been and are of the utmost importance to the Ministry of Instruction in its work. In 1837 was established the great *Verein deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, the first of a long line of scientific societies that unite the workers in every special field. But these were in no sense *Standesvereine*; i. e., closed organizations of the profession on a social basis. The *Philologenverein* expressly refused to become such in 1834.² Its membership has always included university professors, and its aim, like that of all the *Fachvereine*, is purely scientific. With the struggle of the *Realschule* for recognition, and the ensuing *Schulkrieg* of the eighties and nineties, there sprang up a series of what might be termed fighting societies, the "*Realschulmännerverein*", enlisted for the *Realgymnasium*, the "*Verein zur Beförderung des lateinlosen höheren Schulwesens*" for the *Oberrealschule*, the "*Gymnasialverein*" for the *Gymnasium*; besides these, the "*Einheitsschulverein*", the "*Verein für Schulreform*" and others.³ It is difficult at any time, for three Germans to meet without a "*Verein*" resulting, and these times were especially provocative. All of these societies, however, were of a general nature, that is, they admitted all comers, and had a temporary purpose. *Standesvereine* in Prussia arose first in 1872, and with these alone, as homogeneous organizations of a well-defined class of teachers, are we here concerned.

As noted above, Director Spilleke, the famous champion of the *Realschule*, complained about 1830 that "everyone is uniting except the teachers". Why no general outward union of Oberlehrer took place before 1872, appears to be due

¹ Rein, *Encyc. Handbuch*, i, p. 725.

² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³ Lexis, *Reform d. höheren Schulen*, pp. 18 ff.

to several causes. The chief of these were doubtless first, a strongly developed individualism in these men and, second, the lack of an immediate motive. There will be frequent occasion, in this connection, to quote from A. Ludwig, the historian of the *Berliner Gymnasiallehrer Verein* at the recent centenary celebration. He says, on this point,

How could a professional class-feeling have arisen among men so wholly enveloped in their intellectual interests, and of whom so many regarded themselves preeminently as scholars! Leave the "still air of delightful studies", toil and agitate for mere external goods! — what a thought! To say nothing of the personal and intellectual antitheses which were necessarily frequent among such peculiar and self-willed individuals.¹

To this and to the actual disparity existing in pay, title, and prerogative should be added the opposition of the *Gymnasium* to all other school-forms, and perhaps most decisive of all, the repressive attitude of the authorities. Associations of *Volkschullehrer* in the fifties and sixties had been suppressed,² and the ministerial frown rested long on all tendencies to unite on the basis of "interests". For years after the *Oberlehrerverein* was established, teachers desiring to retain the good opinion of their superiors carefully kept away from the dangerous meetings of their colleagues. But after 1871, when the nation shook itself for its new career, the general release swept the Oberlehrer with it. There gradually developed the present dogma that each social class which will secure its rights must organize and clamor for them. For this the discussions of 1872 and after, gave a good opportunity. The Oberlehrer in state schools had been assigned equal pay with the *Richter*, but discontent arose when the cities failed to meet the action of the state,³ and became general when the state itself failed to carry out its proposal.

¹ *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, Jan. 10, 1912, p. 18.

² Rissmann, *Gesh. d. d. Lehrerverein*, pp. 58, 67.

³ Wiese, *Höheres Schulwesen*, iii, p. 236.

Four Prussian provinces and Berlin organized in 1872 and 1873. The discrimination shown by advancing the competing class of *Richter* in 1879 brought in the other provinces before 1885. Meanwhile, in 1880, the societies then existing united in the first *Delegierten-Konferenz* or "Conference of Delegates" which the others later joined.¹ The structure in Prussia was thus completed, and remained one of many similar, independent state organizations for the next twenty-four years. Finally, in 1904, after the burning questions of the *Schulkrieg* had been settled, and when all parties felt that a new epoch had begun, the last step was taken, and the *Vereinsverband akademisch-gebildeter Lehrer Deutschlands* came into being.

Thus the Oberlehrer's instrument both of progress and defense has been fashioned. It operates through its meetings, through its special literature, and its official publication, the *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, since 1912 called the *Deutsches Philologen-Blatt*. And if efficiency can be measured by inclusive membership, by power to stimulate activity, by campaign successes, and by the respectful and now, indeed, coöperative attitude of the authorities, it must be called efficient. Taking the *Berliner Philologen-Verein* (till recently called the *Gymnasiallehrerverein*) as a representative unit, one finds its constitutional purpose

to work for the general welfare of secondary teachers, to discuss problems of higher education, and to foster social relations among its members.²

A member may be

any school-man who, by examination, has earned the right to teach in the secondary schools, and who is teaching in a public secondary school in Berlin or its suburbs.³

Former teachers may also be members. The annual fee is five marks. Business is conducted by an executive com-

¹ Oberle-Kösters, p. 145.

² *Satzungen*, i, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 3.

mittee consisting of a chairman, two vice-chairmen, and twelve assistants. An important feature are the *Vertrauensmänner*, elected, one in each school, by the local members; they are pledged to attend special meetings of such agents, and to do the business of the *Verein* in the various *Kollegien* or school-staffs. Meetings are required quarterly, but are usually held monthly, except in vacations.

The membership is overwhelmingly representative. Thus, in Prussia as a whole, there were, in 1910, 9700 positions for directors and Oberlehrer,¹ and the *Verein* numbered, January 1, 1911, 10,236 members,² many of whom were, therefore, non-teaching members or candidates. And, indeed, the *Vereine* have many members among the *Schulräte* and even in the service of the Ministry. Moreover, permanency of tenure in the schools brings the same element into the *Verein*. The reports announce the celebration of the thirty-year service of a treasurer, or the twenty-three-year activity of a member of the *Vorstand*, or presiding committee.³ Such conditions make a long-studied and settled policy possible. Certain men are intrusted with certain definite lines of work on which they become authorities, as in the case of Lortzing, long the representative of the Berlin *Verein* in the *Gleichstellungsfrage*, and Johannes Speck who is the accepted leader of the movement for the extension of training. It should be noted, furthermore, that the provision for local agents in each school (*Vertrauensmänner*) makes it possible to act quickly and securely, reaching the entire membership at once. Whether they attend meetings or not is quite unimportant. Membership in the *Verein* is much like being a citizen; the institution is indispensable, and membership is considered a matter of course.

¹ *Kunze-Kalender* 1911.

² *Mitteilungen*, No. 18, p. 18.

³ Bericht, *Gym. Lehrer Verein*, 1907-8, p. 9.

In discussing the work of the *Vereine* it will be most convenient to take them as a whole, since they function substantially as one through the *Delegierten-Konferenz*. This latter body consists of two delegates from each of the twelve *Vereine*, (three from such as have over 1,000 members). These are chosen as permanent representatives for one year, and meet from time to time, as need arises (at least once a year), to discuss common interests. They have a strictly business purpose. They carefully sift the propositions of each *Verein* and arrive at a conclusion which becomes the formulated policy of the *Oberlehrerstand*. The head of the *Delegierten-Konferenz* is the informally recognized intermediary between the Oberlehrer and the Ministry.¹ A typical program of one of their meetings will illustrate the kind of work done:

1. Question as to when the oath of office shall be administered to candidates for positions as secondary teachers.

2. Participation of Oberlehrer in the training of elementary teachers for work in the continuation-schools as urged by Professor Klein of Göttingen.

3. Problem of the *Mittelschullehrer*.

4. Shall pupils be admitted to a secondary school from *Rektorats-schulen* without a special examination?

5. Calculation of the pension-service age and the notification of each Oberlehrer in regard to the same.

6. Establishment of courts for affairs of honor.²

The general activities of the *Vereine* may be grouped for convenience under three heads: 1. *Standesfragen*, dealing with the protection and furtherance of the economic and social interests of the members. 2. Questions of organization and educational method both at home and abroad. 3. Extension of professional training. The first of these groups contains the essential *raison d'être* of the whole organization when viewed historically, and is today of fundamental importance. It is coming to be seen, however,

¹ Oberle-Kösters, p. 76.

² *Protokoll der 34. Del.-Konf.*

that when such questions have been satisfactorily settled, the organization still affords a splendid medium through which to work for more ideal ends. This will appear more clearly in the discussion of the third group. The first duty of the *Verein* is to maintain the salary, pension, and insurance schedules, and to see that they are extended uniformly to every part of the State. "Maintain", in Prussia, is a purely relative idea, as has been seen. The comparative method is universal, and as social considerations are always involved, the process is likely to produce a high tension of feeling. In addition to salary, titles must be secured as high and as numerous as those of any other similar class, otherwise social prestige is impaired. The result of all this is an amazing scramble that impresses an outsider, at first thought, as childish and disgusting. An extract from a report of a *Delegierten-Konferenz*, when the salary struggle was at its height, brings out the amusing lengths to which this is carried. The chairman reports:

The demand for equality in initial salary has encountered serious obstacles. The fact has been urged by the representatives both of other professions and of the government that for years the Oberlehrer have enjoyed more favorable conditions of appointment. The judges have been working to increase their salary even beyond the terms of the official proposals. The Berlin architects' union passed in a memorandum to the budget-commission which they justified by referring to the preference given to the Oberlehrer. To meet this a statement of our case was prepared and widely distributed in printed form among the representatives. The executives of the provincial associations were informed of the proceeding and warned of the danger to our prospects. Like the judges and the building inspectors, the district councillors vented their discontent at not having their final salaries raised, and published their claims in the more important newspapers. They had been attempting, underhandedly, to get a higher maximum than either the judges or Oberlehrer. On the other hand, small groups of our colleagues endeavored to influence the representatives by appeals in favor of "mechanical" equality. The debates in the budget-commission were long drawn out, and its official report was supplemented by a comparative review of the effects of

the proposed law upon the conditions of the Oberlehrer, judges, district councillors of the general administration, of the railroad, of the indirect-tax office, and the building inspectors.¹

The necessity for such proceedings is a matter of regret to the Oberlehrer themselves, but it is inherent in the system. For individual competition, class competition has been substituted. It is the principle of evolution in a socialistic community, and the group that disregards it goes to the wall. Thus in the counsels of the *Verein*, much time must be given to the formulation of demands. Among those drafted recently (October 8, 1911) appear the following:

1. The title of Oberlehrer should not be conferred upon elementary or intermediate teachers.
2. Trustees of secondary institutions not under state control should be required by law to pay at least the minimum salary currently in force in state institutions.
3. The number of provincial school councillors should be increased, and should be given the same rank and salary as the higher district councillors.
4. The older directors should receive the title "Privy Councillor" under the same conditions under which the directors of the district courts now receive the title "Privy Judicial Councillor," etc.²

Another form of protective activity aims at securing uniformity of qualifications for Oberlehrer, and at preventing the profession from being over-crowded. This is directed against the encroachments of women,³ especially as directors of institutions where men are employed, and against the use of any teacher not university-trained, especially *Volksschullehrer*, in the secondary schools. Thus to cite again from the recent resolutions:

1. The *Delegierten-Konferenz* continues to entertain serious misgivings in regard to the increasing appointments of intermediate teachers to the lower classes of secondary schools. The *Konferenz*

¹ *Protokoll der 32. Del.-Konf.*

² *Protokoll der Del.-Konf.*, 8. Okt., 1911.

³ *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, 8. März, 1911, p. 148.

believes that the unity of the staff, and of the training and instruction offered should be maintained, and that the integrity of the secondary schools should be preserved. Pupils from intermediate or *Rektorat* schools should be required to take an examination before being admitted to secondary schools.

2. It appears unfitting that graduates of Prussian Normal Schools should be admitted to the university.

As for the over-crowding of the profession, it appears that the attractions of the calling have so increased, owing to the recent scarcity of teachers and to the favorable legislation, that forty-eight per cent of all *Abiturients* in 1911 selected it.¹ This promises, at the end of a six-year course, a total of about 6,000 candidates for not over seven hundred and fifty positions. Hence, whereas now candidates are appointed at once, in that case a wait of six or eight years would intervene, a situation that actually existed from 1890 to 1900. This it is the business of the *Verein* to avoid.²

The Oberlehrer are not so rich in permanent protective institutions as are the *Volksschullehrer*. Most of the *Vereine* maintain a voluntary insurance fund for widows and orphans, or some form of emergency aid associations.³ In 1906, the *Delegierten-Konferenz* established a committee for legal affairs, whose business it is to aid members with money and advice in such cases as may arise out of professional duties and are of general interest.⁴ The institution has been of value,⁵ but is far from having the importance of the similar arrangement in the *Volksschullehrerverein*.⁶ This one would naturally expect.

It is in this class of interests that the Oberlehrer feels that his association has, hitherto, won its most brilliant successes, but the second group is found often to be closely related.

¹ *Pädagogisches Archiv*, 1912, p. 241.

² *Deutsches Philologen-Blatt*, 10. Jan., 1912, pp. 22 ff.

³ *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, 25. Mai, 1911.

⁴ *Bericht, Berliner Gym. Lehrer-Verein*, 1909-10, pp. 20 ff.

⁵ *Protokoll der 31. Del.-Konf.*

⁶ *Berichte d. d. Lehrerverein*.

Being of an essentially broader and more general concern, these questions of educational organization, method, and policy, were formerly left wholly to the authorities, while the teacher concerned himself with his *Wissenschaft*. But their importance as bearing directly upon his primary problems has gained steadily in his eyes, and discussion has educated him. As Ludwig says:

This is but another phase of the same development. While the Oberlehrer was in the midst of the struggle for the dignity and prestige of his profession, he learned above all to value and emphasize the main content of that profession. When, therefore, he found himself committed to the task of assimilating the progressive results of scientific inquiry and of discovering the surest ways of conveying these results to the pupils, creative effort of his own in a narrowly limited field of knowledge lost its importance and charm.¹

In finding interests common to himself and to his colleagues, he found also those of the child he was engaged in training. In this way the *Verein* has had no small part in transforming the earlier pedant into the modern teacher. The discipline of his organization has made him sink his own whims and peculiarities, and has raised the actual sum of his achievement by showing him true aims.²

Thus the conviction has gradually developed that the individual teacher not only may, but should assume the responsibility for the solution of broad educational problems — that the whole field is his. And especially in his collective capacity, it is believed that he is qualified to reach an expert and valid conclusion. This it is the tendency of the educational authorities to admit, and the relations between *Verein* and *Ministerium* have become very close. One friend of the writer declared that “the greatest thing the *Philologenverein* has accomplished is to have made itself, if not indispensable, at least a good and always welcome friend to the Ministry”. It is now the regular course of procedure

¹ *Phil.-Blatt*, 1912, No. 3, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*

for changes in school policy or in regulations either to originate in the *Vereine* as a sort of lower house and be passed on to the Minister in the form of "*Wünsche*", or else to be sent down by the latter in provisional form for discussion and criticism. This is, of course, purely informal, but that it is now definitely expected is indicated by a recent, notable exception which aroused the entire Oberlehrer-class to general resentment. The impromptu class essay, or *Ex-temporale*, used largely as furnishing a basis for marking pupils, had been for some time an object of attack. Suddenly, without notice, an order was issued, October 21, 1911, abolishing this form of test,¹ and the news was given to the daily papers before being made known to the teachers themselves. For months thereafter the order itself was hotly discussed both pro and contra, but of the method of its promulgation there was but one opinion. A writer in the *Korrespondenz-Blatt* for November 29, expresses the general feeling:

In the first place the manner of its publication has produced irritation. It would appear that the custom of seeking the advice of men in the service, as followed first by Althoff, had been unnecessarily abandoned. So recently as in the issuance of the last "Service Regulations" was this custom effectively adhered to. Here, however, we have an order direct from the council-table. It is possible that "irresponsible and none too expertly informed personages" have been at work. (*Schlesische Zeitung*, V, 29, 10.) Furthermore, the sensation was by no means pleasant to see the edict appear in the public press before being officially given to the various teaching staffs; the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* is no official organ for such publications.

In the sequel, it appears from private correspondence that the delivery to the press was a clerical mistake for which apology has since been made. Further, that in a *Verein* meeting, called to discuss the matter, the new order was "defended" by a special delegate from the Ministry (!).

¹ *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, 1. Nov., 1911, p. 581.

There can be no question that teachers continually trained to this attitude of coöperation become better critics, more intelligent executives, and more substantial men. And, what is of greater moment, the schools and society get the benefit. As evidence of what the discussions of these teachers are bringing forth, the following statement of their desires in connection with a proposed reform in the educational administration, is of interest.

1. The composition of the provincial boards should undergo a thorough revision. They must be in closer touch with intellectual affairs on the one hand and with school practice on the other. They should, therefore, be so enlarged as to give a seat and vote both to university professors and to practical schoolmen (directors and Oberlehrer).

2. The deliberations and decisions of the provincial school boards should be conducted in common-council form throughout.

3. The technical assistants in the provincial school boards should in the future be employed for a limited time only (two or three years) in the boards, and should then return to their service as teachers.

4. In the interests of more effective school inspection, the number of provincial school councillors should be considerably increased. Conformably to the significance of their positions they should be given the rank of councillors of the third class and a corresponding salary.

5. The presidency of the provincial school boards should be divorced from the provincial government and intrusted to special presidents with the rank of councillors of the second class; these would then give their entire time to the business of their office.

6. Both the president and the directors of the provincial school boards should be school experts.

7. A higher judicial councillor, a higher architectural councillor and a higher medical councillor should be added to each board, and in this form the latter should be developed into a separate provincial authority completely independent of the provincial government.

8. At the central office the affairs of all the higher institutions should be handled by a special division of the ministry appointed solely for this purpose. The direction of this division should regularly be in the hands of a school expert.¹

¹ *Protokoll, 34. Del.-Konf., Beilage 3.*

In matters of general scientific and educational interest, the deliberations of the *Vereine* are determined by local preferences, but usually have to do with practical problems. Speakers on these, as on all other topics, are regularly drawn from the membership. The stimulus to attendance sought in the attraction of a "big speaker", does not have the consideration that is usually given it in American teachers' clubs. During the year 1910-11 the Berlin *Verein* devoted three sessions to these topics:

"The Teacher Problem in the United States."

"Self-government in Schools of the United States and Germany."

So far as the minutes show, these were the only formal addresses on matters not directly concerned with German school questions in the two years, 1909-11, and these were handled with a view to their practical implications. Director Seyffert of Wiese's time could hardly be expected to feel comfortable in such surroundings.

The third group of interests, the extension of professional training, is a growth of little more than the past decade, so far as systematic development is concerned. It is the flower of the whole *Verein* movement, — the recognition of the peculiar place and mission of the Oberlehrer. The moving spirit of the present effort was the revered friend and counselor of the Oberlehrer, Friedrich Paulsen, whose memory the teachers of Germany have lately honored with a monument at his home in Steglitz (October 7, 1911).¹ His address at the founding of the *Vereinsverband* of Oberlehrer in 1904, was one vigorous appeal for a return to productive work, to the scientific point of view, and to this end he demanded lighter work, greater freedom in instruction, provision for vacation courses, travel-grants, frequent leaves-of-absence, and above all, the professional devotion of the individual teacher.²

¹ *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, 25. Okt., 1911.

² Paulsen, *Die höheren Schulen Deutschlands*.

His call aroused a very general response; chiefly in applause, partly, as we have seen above (Chapter III), in demur that strictly scientific activity in the old sense was impossible for the teacher. These differences are finding speedy reconciliation, however, in a reinterpretation of what "Wissenschaft" means for the teacher. To such a conception as the following, doubtless Paulsen himself would subscribe.

When occasionally in our profession weariness and indifference toward scholarship is encountered, it will be found that the real reason for it lies in a mistaken conception of this truth which is fundamental to the doctrine of knowledge, and therefore also to pedagogy; in an over-emphasis upon the material and empirical phase of our power of knowing. If the mind is a *tabula rasa*, and science and education have solely the task of covering it with their characters, then indeed the period of independent scholarly activity is past, once and for all, and not only for the Oberlehrer but for anyone who cannot devote his entire time to his studies. For indeed how can the individual teacher, living usually far from the centres of scholarship and largely busied with other matters, compete with one who gathers his material with ample apparatus and plenty of time. If on the other hand, scholarship consists in an unceasing organization and fashioning of the mind from within, then everyone has the obligation to busy himself with it, for according to the measure of a man's self-release through intellectual activity is his worth and his success in his profession.¹

Little by little efforts to secure and increase the advantages for special training received the support not only of the government, but also of the city authorities. Vacation courses for Oberlehrer had existed since 1890, when an archaeological course was established at Bonn and Berlin, and a course was organized by Professor Rein of Jena, for teachers from all states.² Today³ such courses are conducted and supported by the government in Berlin, Bonn, Trier, Frankfort-on-Main, Florence, and Rome. Partial expenses

¹ Speck, *Wissenschaftliche Fortbildung*, p. 11.

² *Pädagogisches Archiv*, 1890, xxxiii, p. 444.

³ 1911.

are granted for travel in Greece and Asia Minor, and special travel-grants for modern language teachers (eighteen annually) and students of archaeology (five annually) are available. Besides, the government gives official recommendations and assistance in foreign study, and, in coöperation with France, England, and the United States, has organized an exchange of teachers that supplies admirable advantages. The individual cities are encouraged by the government to do for their schools what it does for the state schools. The *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, November 8, 1911, contains a list of some seventy cities that grant regular assistance to their Oberlehrer for traveling or for vacation study, and the list has since been increased. The aid ranges from \$100 in small towns, to \$2,750 for Berlin, in annual appropriations. These sums represent, of course, a somewhat larger value in marks than in dollars. Some thirty towns grant assistance on special request, without formal appropriations. These grants often stipulate due preparation, genuine study, and reports of some kind.

Many of the above-mentioned provisions for extension of training antedate Paulsen's speech of 1904, and they have been promoted by the constant and earnest solicitation of the *Vereine*. The most recent advance, led by Johannes Speck of Berlin, and due largely to Paulsen's enthusiasm, is a movement to give all these efforts a centre and a home in a *Paulsen-Stiftung* at Berlin. Here is to rise a commodious building with assembly halls and class-rooms for lectures, seminars, and courses of every description useful to the Oberlehrer. Permanent exhibits of books, apparatus, and educational devices from all over the world will be installed. An information office, travel bureau, etc., are contemplated. Such an institution is planned, in short, as shall keep the instructor in continual touch with the varied educational and scientific progress everywhere, and

shall inspire him to realize the widest possibilities of his profession.¹

This practical undertaking shows the *Verein* spirit at its best. Ludwig speaks for the entire *Lehrerschaft* as follows:

Here, therefore, in place of isolated achievements, we shall have carefully planned coöperation. The end is far from attained, but even the plans are characteristic of the aspirations of our profession. They show that the old intellectual idealism still lives among us, but has grown practical; it proposes no longer to follow fruitless intellectual "sport", but to do work that shall, in its modest way, promote the life and scholarship of the present day. Surely success cannot disappoint us. Who can doubt that the energy and organizing ability which our representatives have hitherto displayed in such large measure, will bring us to this goal also?²

Thus, having satisfied bodily needs, so to speak, and having learned to participate actively in the living questions of education at large, the entire body of teachers is set to attain that ideal end wherein the secret of its efficiency lies. In this respect it can be and is an example to the world.

To the national organization of Oberlehrer it is unnecessary to give great attention, except to note the striking fact that it exists, nearly nineteen thousand strong, distributed in forty-one different *Vereine* and representing every corner of Germany.³ Its purpose is briefly stated in its constitution:

Par. 2. The purpose of the Federation is to promote higher education and to labor for the common interests of secondary teachers.

Its meetings are gatherings of delegates, one for each three hundred members, and are held every two years; all members, however, participate in the meetings. The following program of the fifth biennial convention on April 9, 1912, at Dresden, will show the nature of these assemblies:

¹ *Korrespondenz-Blatt*, 20. und 27. Sept., 1911. Also Speck, *Wissenschaftliche Fortbildung*.

² *Deutsches Phil. Blatt*, 17. Jan., 1912, p. 34.

³ *Mitteilungen*, No. 18.

Tuesday, April 9, 1912. 3 P.M.

Session for delegates only.

1. Amendments to the Constitution.
2. Establishment of an information bureau.
3. Further consideration of Dr. Speck's resolution.
4. Report on the educational exhibit at the international exposition at Brussels and resolutions for the establishment of a German school-museum.

5. The Federation's periodical.

For the evening a visit to the Royal Theatre and an informal reception are planned.

Wednesday, April 10, 1912.

I. Preliminary Session. 8.30 A.M.

1. Freer organization of instruction.
2. Women directors in secondary schools.
3. Interest of the Oberlehrer in disciplinary courts.

II. Festival Session. 11.30 A.M.

1. Addresses of welcome.
2. Festival address: "The Secondary School and the National Idea."

3. Announcement of the decisions reached in the preliminary session and the session for delegates.

III. Main Session. 3 P.M.

1. Committees on literature for young people.
2. Problem of the intermediate teacher and related considerations.
3. Equality with the judges.

A banquet will take place in the evening. The third day will be reserved for sight-seeing and excursions to Meissen and Saxon Switzerland in case business does not require the time.¹

In actual operation the work of this association is ideal rather than practical, on account of the lack of the common educational basis which makes the state *Vereine* so effective. It lends the force of moral support to the struggles of separate associations, but can do little more than deliberate. Its influence in general questions, however, like that of equal pay and extension of training, has been great from the beginning.²

Before taking leave of the organizations of Oberlehrer and their work, it is worth while to listen to the criticisms which

¹ *Mitteilungen*, No. 18, p. 15.

² *Mitteilungen*, Nos. 4, 6, 12.

must necessarily be aroused by such a movement. These surely have not been wanting in Germany. Now that the Oberlehrer possess a voice and can fight, they have been put to the task of personal defense far more than formerly when the attacks were aimed primarily at the school.¹ Much of this is the usual superficial warfare of the press, but a more serious form of complaint is that represented by the following passage from one who, as much as any living man, has the schools of Germany upon his heart, Georg Kerschensteiner. Speaking of the struggle of the different school forms for equal recognition, he says:

So much is unquestionably certain: this struggle never arose as a matter of culture alone. Besides the equal recognition of the various branches of study, the equal recognition of the teachers played a very significant part in the fight; so also the prospect of a finer pupil-material and the equal recognition of subjects with special reference to their prestige in the council of teachers and in the curriculum. Here was the chance for the *Reallehrer* to wear the venerated toga of the *Gymnasialprofessor*, and he had visions of the director's nine-pointed diadem. I've occasionally had the feeling that throughout the battle, professional class-interests have had more decisive weight than the interests of education. And today as I follow the preliminary deliberations and discussions over the curriculum of the new Bavarian *Oberrealschulen*, as they are conducted among the teachers concerned, I regret to see the correctness of this feeling confirmed.²

Though intended for the partisans of special schools, the above opinion represents a wide-spread view of the activity of the *Standesvereine* in general. "Professedly the *Verein* is for the school", it is said, "but where did the interest of the school ever fail to coincide with that of the *Verein*?" This is no doubt true of some questions and at some times, but the total worth of the *Verein* cannot be so judged. It needs, indeed, careful criticism from without. It is by criticism from without that it finally stands or falls

¹ Ludwig, *Philologen-Blatt*, 1912, No. 3.

² Kerschensteiner, *Grundfragen*, p. 206.

in any case. But if it be true, as has appeared, that genuine adaptation to function is the only ground for consideration, there should be no fear of a lasting false relation under such circumstances. The public will be the inevitable tribunal, and unwarranted claims will disappear of themselves. The number of points at which the interests of the *Verein* as a whole do coincide with the genuine interests of the school is so great that the benefits of coöperation far outweigh the disadvantages, and any one who knows the class of men involved will probably agree in the prophecy that the proper identity of those interests will tend to become more and more complete.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

THE development of the schoolmaster has been traced from his earliest appearance in Germany to the present day. The periods marking the chief phases in his evolution may be rapidly reviewed and their broad significance suggested. The first period, to 1750, was characterized by an objective, mechanical conception of education, that lasted well into the eighteenth century, in spite of over-currents of another sort. The function of the schoolmaster had attained little if any inner contact with life. Teaching was a trade like any other, even to the extent of organization as a guild — a system that was long perpetuated. It required a certain elementary skill, and opened the way into a highly respected career, but in itself it was no great art. The character of the schoolmaster, indeed, was quite out of proportion to his work, for the latter remained as it began, — an incident in the life of the priest, and when that relation was broken, the independent schoolmaster sank low.

The second period witnessed a complete revolution. This may be characterized as the period of idealism, or to distinguish it from the one following, the period of idealism with a fixed means of realization, that is, assimilation of Greek culture. The conception of education now becomes subjective and personal; it is pursued with the reverence and ardor of a religion, and education is regarded at every point as a profoundly significant process. Greek antiquity, the guide to the newly discovered ideal, is worshiped as an indispensable part of the discovery itself. The work of the teacher has become distinct from that of the clergy, and has,

indeed, assumed a certain halo of its own. Furthermore, its aim has become strongly patriotic, and it has been consciously assigned an exalted mission in society. This enormous gain in function is accompanied by a similar gain in the personal character and status of the teacher. In the high position created for him by the New Humanism, he has become a new being. Not even today does the school-teacher occupy a position relatively as distinguished as that which he held in the best moments of this new era.

But the enthusiasm and the reverence waned; the halo disappeared. In the place of the builder of men, there emerged the architect of language, and the primary aim was forgotten. The teacher was industrious and worthy still, but his social efficiency became steadily less. His social importance followed like a shadow in spite of the artificial support of political favor, and at the end of the period he typically appears as a powerless, derided pensioner of the state.

The third period also stands for idealism, but recognizes a multitude of means for its achievement. The real bequest of New Humanism remains undiminished. In fact, its capital has been largely increased through the discovery that idealism is human and universal, and not restricted to a single medium for its communication. So the function of the teacher has returned to its large proportions. It is a quest not for knowledge, but for true and productive outlets for life; it is a sympathetic review, with a young mind, of suggested forms for self-expression; it requires abundant knowledge both of the present and of the past, great insight into the future, and power. This is the spirit of the present period, and its development has just begun. Already the teacher's social standing has risen to a level with that of the most distinguished public servants. It is impossible that anything but social fitness should have brought it there. Should it, in the future, rise above the level of military officer or civil

judge, it may be assumed that it will do so only because the teacher's inherent power to serve the changing ideals of the nation entitles it so to rise.

The second object of the study was to trace the main features in the growing collective consciousness of the teaching class. It was seen that, rising within the church, the activity of the teacher throughout the first period was completely overshadowed by its parent institution. Whatever motives of class feeling were present in the schoolmaster were absorbed in the sense that his service was but an incident in his clerical profession, and that as a teacher he had no standing. With the increasing power of the state and the gradual decline in the relative importance of the church, his fortunes took an unexpected turn. In 1810, and the years immediately subsequent, he found himself freed from his old superior, and allied directly with the secular power. The very conditions of this connection prepared the ground for a collective consciousness. Education was to be a state function, the teacher was its agent; from the fact of a common function sprang the consciousness of common class interests. Under the circumstances, however, the differentiation was incomplete. The secondary teacher had, indeed, been cut loose from the church, but under the new order he was immediately taken in tow by the university. His sympathies were there, he sent his product thither, and he himself aspired to a position in the higher institution. So the horizontal currents found little encouragement, broken as they were by the vertical impulses. The scientific organizations that came into being included university and school men promiscuously, and still further weakened the distinction between them.

Thus it went on until the seventies, when new forces that had long been felt came fully into play. The great, new public of the *Realschulen* and the demand for a readjustment

in the *Gymnasien* on the one side, and a widening breach with the specialized sciences at the university on the other, suddenly brought the Oberlehrer to the consciousness that he stood alone. Drawn from his scholarly retirement, he was forced to restate his aims and to undertake a new and exacting commission. Facing an untried future with claims to make as well as claims to meet, he found union with his colleagues inevitable and easily accomplished.

The results of this union are our special concern. When the organization was formed, the tradition inherited from a reactionary period made the government still suspicious of such bodies. It has, however, steadily and effectively led its members, and has been the mouthpiece of their demands until their goal has been finally reached, and the equilibrium toward which they pressed, has been established. In the meantime the ideal objects of the profession have steadily increased in clearness and significance during the struggle in which they were, in a sense then scarcely realized, at stake. Hostility from the ministry has given place to a complete understanding. The Oberlehrer, in their organized form, now constitute the government's best counsellors and critics. For themselves, on the other hand, the class spirit, trained to united and purposeful action, promises to serve their high professional ideals with wonderful effect. Their belief is that the new epoch is the great one for which the past has merely laid a secure foundation. An almost perfect solidarity in the interest of a great social and intellectual ambition furnishes all the conditions for a remarkable future.

CHAPTER VI

AMERICAN APPLICATIONS

AN attempt to summarize the conditions which surround a worker in one land, and to deduce therefrom suggestion or encouragement for a worker in another, meets at once with serious obstacles. Differences in race, customs, temperament, and physical environment; variations in political, social, and economic composition — all seem to impose such a burden of proof upon the thoughtful reformer that the force of his enthusiasm is usually much diminished by the time he has his proposal fit for application. It must be acknowledged, however, that out of just such comparison and suggestion has come the extraordinary progress that characterizes the present age of swift communication. An attentive observer cannot fail to distinguish here and there, in foreign practice, relations or conditions which impress him as immediately applicable in his own native situation. It is the purpose of the writer, therefore, to hazard here some considerations for which the preceding study is the basis; whether these give evidence of mere idle desire or of timely insight may best be left, perhaps, to the judgment of those who are less under the spell of foreign example.

1. *Professional Training*

In his splendid professional training the German Oberlehrer furnishes an irresistible object-lesson. New Humanism made this training scholarly and gave the Oberlehrer reputation; the readjustment effected during the past forty years has given the training a true aim, and has made the teacher supremely useful. Both scholarship and truth of aim are imitable qualities, and their possession by the Ameri-

can teacher is devoutly to be wished. As the teacher here in question is the high school teacher, it may be urged that the comparison involves two unlike quantities. The *Gymnasium* is considerably more than the American high school, though considerably less than the American college, and the Oberlehrer properly represents a higher degree of training than the high school teacher. This is, of course, true; but the objection is negligible. The high school is rapidly achieving an independent unity. It has broken loose from the tutelage of the college, and is being trusted more and more to pass upon the qualifications of its own pupils. It is seeking effective adaptation to a wide range of social purposes and obligations, and is seriously studying its responsibilities for revealing the sources of permanent happiness and success in future American citizens. Its development promises to be upward; certainly it will not yield to any downward encroachment of the college; its patronage feels such pressure too slightly. In other words, the high school is probably destined to broaden and intensify to a degree quite equivalent to the *Gymnasium*, an institution, like itself, of school character throughout.

Granting, therefore, that the comparison is justified or, if not wholly so at present, that it is for our advantage to make the most of it, the problem is, what measures are there that will do for American teachers that which the examination ordinance of 1810 did for the German Oberlehrer? We want depth and pointedness of training that shall select and fashion men and women who will work with a clear purpose, and love their work because they understand it. In no social occupation is there greater inherent opportunity for happy self-expression than in teaching. Yet this joy in work, the universal and all-powerful factor in eliciting great service, often perishes in the teacher as the result of sheer ignorance, and in place of the eager, self-spending artist at the

task we get too often the thrifty, patient, or indifferent mechanic. Further, we seek measures that shall give this training uniformity of content sufficient to serve as the basis for a genuine and productive professional fellowship. The astonishing solidarity of the German is impossible with us, even in a single state, and this no American can regret. We have unbounded admiration for the German system in its home, but among us another spirit moves which must forever be more precious than any borrowed genius. The footfalls of the pioneer and the explorer still haunt the path even of the American teacher. To commit himself forever in one momentous decision to a routine that may prove to be in his case *mere* routine is to him distressing, and will probably long be unnecessary. But the vagrant period is past. With all recognition of varying personality, initiative, and experience we must ensure the high level of these traits. Hitherto the demands in the large cities of the country have brought the most pronounced gains in professional requirements. Here centralized administration has created situations most nearly comparable to the Prussian organization as a whole. Here teachers are examined and sometimes trained; they are given permanent appointments, a fixed and fairly adequate salary, and occasionally a pension on leaving the service. This centralized procedure is duplicated from city to city, with such wide variations of detail, however, that the teachers of each community are still effectively isolated in all but certain ideal interests. Our great commonwealth of teachers is broadminded and democratic, it is generous and high-spirited, but it is utterly indefinite in its composition, vague in its aims, and almost helpless in execution. It lacks entirely the cohesion and the resulting power of great achievement that it might possess should it define and concentrate its membership, clarify its aims, and strengthen its executive organization.

It has been suggested that this solidarity be secured through state regulation, and it would be easy to cite the Prussian precedent in favor of this method. Uniform state examinations for secondary teachers with certificates for perhaps two degrees of training and experience, valid anywhere in the state, would undoubtedly bring improvement, provided that the examinations were conducted with reasonable insight and in accordance with a permanent policy. The lower grades of teaching would surely be benefited. It is likely, however, that the best schools would still have reason for criticism. A state board of examiners is exposed to political entanglements even more than is a city board, and in many states the field of choice is none too large. But there is another much more serious objection. The educational democracy of this nation is in reality quite independent of state lines. The American teacher today, at least if he be young, desires to be a citizen of the entire country; it is his business to know the nation as a whole, and to feel its educational oneness, not as a provincial associate, but as an active participant fully conversant with the nation's problems. Such an ambition is as praiseworthy as it is inevitable in this country, but what have forty-eight different standards of examination to contribute to its realization? What of the professional fellowship that can come only with the sense of a common official citizenship in American secondary education?

In the search for a better plan, the writer has the following to suggest. It would seem by no means impracticable for the school boards of, say, three leading cities, Boston, New York, and Chicago, to unite upon a common series of qualifications for high school teachers. The requirements of these centres are essentially identical. To arrange for a joint examining board would be a simple matter of mutual agreement, and the character of such a board, drawn from the

ablest educational leadership in the country and lifted well above local considerations, should be decidedly superior in breadth of vision and in statesmanship to bodies at present existing for that purpose. To teachers in these respective cities there would come at once the consciousness of more than local standing. These being the first cities in the country, a certain sense of national importance would furnish the basis for a similar sense of national responsibility as a *Kulturbeamter* of the nation. Such teachers would be eligible to appointment in all cities that were parties to the agreement, without, of course, binding the individual choice within the list, and they would find thus the means for gratifying individual preferences, subject to the prevailing local conditions.

Such an arrangement would be of undoubted benefit to the cities concerned, but the larger importance of the proposal lies in the possibility of its furnishing the nucleus of a general standardizing authority available for any school system in the country. Inaugurated as an agreement between the original parties, the board should have power to invite every other city, so disposed, to participate in the arrangement, seeking by the excellence of its administration to attract a wide recognition. The adherence of a large number of cities, won in this way, would make the institution truly national — a central Qualification Board granting certificates accepted throughout the country, and representing a definite standard of training and teaching ability. Such a board could command the services of the best experts in the country, and could regulate by its single jurisdiction the conditions governing the training of teachers generally. It is urged, and with great force, that examination is an unsatisfactory measure of a teacher's worth, that skill discovered in professional courses or developed through actual experience is missed by any formal tests hitherto devised.

It is for precisely such sources of waste as these that a board organized as suggested, could best take thought. It would be quite undesirable to confine its activities to formal examinations. The determination of standards, the approval of certain satisfactory schools or courses, the allowance for special training, experience, particular aptitude, and so on, could be controlled far better by a single expert authority working in a detached and impersonal manner than by scattered and inferior local committees. Its influence would rest wholly upon the continued excellence of its work; incessant criticism of this work would insure its close touch with popular demands. There is something remarkable in the contagion of a successful idea among the semi-independent state communities of America. The career of the College Entrance Examination Board is an illustration: it proved its worth from small beginnings, and grew to large proportions by voluntary accessions. So here, local adoption of an obviously efficient institution would doubtless be swift and widespread, and would prove more educative than the legal compulsion that in another country might be imposed from above.

The fact of a high and uniform degree of professional training in Germany is especially noteworthy in view of the character which that training has assumed in the last quarter century. In the German program a thorough knowledge of the theory and practice of school procedure from beginning to end and a criticized practical introduction to teaching for every beginner are the indispensable premises to a teacher's career. The appropriateness of these requirements we must unhesitatingly admit. To be sure our first purpose in America must be to define and intensify that phase of professional training that consists in a thorough knowledge of the subjects to be taught. But to stop here in equipping for his life's task a teacher who is

no longer on his way to the pulpit, is assuredly a mistake. The German models in this more strictly professional form of preparation should serve us well, though certain details will require adjustment. Thus, contrary to the German practice, we seem to be committed to the plan of schools of education in the universities with practice-schools affiliated. This arrangement affords some advantages. The German seminars, conducted altogether by schoolmen, are criticized chiefly for a weakness in theory, a lack that a German university student can better endure than can graduates of American colleges. This lack is most easily remedied in a university setting. On the other hand, it is a question whether just here may not lie a serious obstacle to success. Any university or any college may develop, on short notice, a "school" or "department" of education consisting of a single lecturer presenting only the most abstract material; of professional laboratory work which should be the one indispensable feature of such a school there is no thought. Furthermore even where practice facilities are attached, their character and relation to the central department have nowhere as yet been satisfactorily worked out. The practice school is in some places confused with the "model" school, serviceable in its way for observation but likely to drop its "practice" feature at an early stage and succumb to urgent temptations that convert it into a socially exclusive source of revenue. Where a genuine practice-school is maintained, on the other hand, the large number of candidates in proportion to the size of the school is likely to result in producing an unnatural and therefore comparatively useless institution. The German plan completely forestalls such blunders by plunging a candidate directly into the environment for which it is desired to prepare him. The school to which he is attached is a full-sized working institution in which his presence makes no perceptible impression.

This ensures that at least his primary need will be met — he will be brought into direct contact with his problems in a critical atmosphere; what he receives in the form of pedagogical theory, on the other hand, will depend on his director. It is this serious analysis of practical instruction and criticized participation in it that must, in some way or other, be secured to the candidate for a high school position. Without it, college courses in education must not only inevitably fall short of their professional purpose; they must continue as they chiefly are at present, highly generalized and theoretical, or else vague and amateurish, lacking a sane, organic application to their natural problems. The failure of schools of education to make this provision is primarily responsible for that tendency of normal schools to push their ambitions beyond their reasonable foundation and to substitute the “professional idea” for genuine professional capacity. If professional educational training for secondary schools is to be had where the best opinion believes it to belong — embedded in the university — every effort should be made to supply this lack.

The precise form in which this laboratory practice should be organized has nowhere as yet been finally worked out. The inferences from German experience, however, would lead one emphatically to favor such an arrangement as would bring the university department of education into intimate working relations with one or more local school systems. It should enable a candidate to undertake the full work and responsibility of a secondary teacher under the usual conditions, subject the while to competent direction and criticism both from within the school and from the best brains in the university department. Such a plan has been in successful operation in Providence, Rhode Island, for several years, not only for secondary teachers in connection with Brown University, but also, as it happens, for the

elementary teachers from the Rhode Island State Normal School as a supplement to their own observation classes. Although this work is not an absolute prerequisite for appointment to Providence city high schools, preference is given to such as have had this training. Some such favorable state or municipal regulation seems indispensable in order to buttress the demand for this qualification in teachers. The only danger is that a department may be tempted to rest heavily upon the regulation instead of developing sound and sufficient courses to make the practice period appear to the candidate as the necessary crowning feature of his training.

A plan similar to that followed at Brown is in operation at Harvard University. Here, however, the affiliation of Education department and school system has become so intimate that the studies in the university seminaries in education regularly take the form of individual or coöperative studies in the schools themselves. These involve the candidate and the school teachers in a multitude of joint enterprises that cover the whole field of organization and instruction. An arrangement of this sort discloses possibilities which mark a distinct advance upon anything with which the writer is familiar in Germany, and which appear to point the way to a nearly ideal solution of the problem of training secondary teachers.

2. Conditions of Service

Several features that are especially worthy of notice in a comparative study of the German and American teacher have here been grouped together. Each of them constitutes an important, though not indispensable, factor in the progressive development of the teaching profession both in its inherent efficiency and dignity as well as in outward recognition. Before passing to those matters wherein American

schools appear to need the benefit of German example, it is fair to mention certain notable respects wherein they seem to the writer to be conspicuously in advance of German practice.

The first is the element of general freedom of function, both for school and teacher. Standardization of curriculum and minute regulation of method have proceeded apace through the century in Germany, and today hang like a leaden weight about the neck of the instructor who fails to realize the bondage which has become so familiar. Adolph Matthias, for several years an influential member of the state ministry of education, noted the conditions in 1901 as follows:

Ever since 1892, the authorities have declared again and again that they would be glad to see the curricula handled in a liberal spirit. Intelligent and enterprising directors and keen, self-reliant groups of teachers have done their part to avoid the strait-jacket, but in vain. It has ever recurred that men, thought to be wholly reasonable, for sheer personal comfort clung to the letter of the law in order to avoid responsibility. That pedantic tendency, characteristic of many Germans, to long for narrowing standards and prescriptions has stood continually in the way of free, healthy application of the curricula. Schools have not seldom taken on the aspect of factories where forever the same threads were spun, and all work seemed a burden instead of a joy.¹

What Matthias unconsciously indicts here is the system, and it was against the system that Paulsen cried: "Freedom, freedom for personal influence and for the unfolding of personal power is the thing for which we must strive above all else",² although most of his hearers may scarcely have discerned his meaning.

The American high school has had its period of bondage too, from which the day of deliverance is just now being preached. It is, nevertheless, in a better case. In Germany

¹ *Monatsschrift für höhere Schulen*, I, p. 6.

² Paulsen: *Die höheren Schulen*, p. 28.

it is the ideal of organization that prevents freedom; with us the bonds of college entrance requirements, invented to standardize admissions, are now being relaxed because of a change of ideal as to what constitutes education. Though American teachers are greatly inferior to the German in basal education and specific training, they are much nearer a professional status in service in so far as this involves professional freedom, initiative, and responsibility. When release from the college shall have been fully accomplished the high school will be in a position to address itself unreservedly to its immediate local problem. No bureaucratic tradition will hamper its adjustment. Its success will depend largely upon the extent to which, having selected trained and skillful servants, it can frankly delegate to them large freedom of action together with the corresponding responsibility. Herein, other things being equal, lies a distinct advantage for the American organization.

Another respect wherein American schools seem wiser than the German is the relation of the sexes in teaching — the outgrowth of our custom of co-education. If American elementary schools are “feminized,” as they clearly are, the German secondary schools for boys are still more completely dominated by masculine influence, and the latter may prove to be a social weakness as great as the former. The high school, on the other hand, has solved that problem, and can look into the new social future with confidence and satisfaction. Segregation may properly come at certain points, as in numerous vocational courses, or at certain ages, as the result of clearly proven psychological considerations, but in respect to the main thesis, the present critic finds nothing praiseworthy in the German system as a national scheme of education. The natural and constant association of men and women in the instruction of boys and girls, themselves in natural relations throughout their school life, appears

to him one of the most wholesome and effective of social prophylactics.

These are by no means the only respects in which the American institution is favored, but as it is the object here to deal primarily with lessons to be deduced from German practice, it will be necessary to focus the attention upon these.

An important feature that is external to the operation of the school itself, may be noticed first. In Prussia the Oberlehrer is eligible to a pension as a state official — a fact that has important bearings upon the development of the profession as a life career. This allowance becomes available if necessary after ten years of service, being one-third of the salary enjoyed at that time, and increases, after forty years, to three-fourths of the highest amount received.¹ The propriety of the arrangement is so obvious to a German that he would scarcely think to question it. In a social order in which change of occupation is peculiarly difficult and life insurance is distrusted, a state-guaranteed allowance becomes the natural solution for the problem of retirement. It gives the economic side of the profession a clear sequence, and enables the teacher to give his full strength and untroubled attention to the work before him. In America, conditions are somewhat different. Life is more variable, occupations are more flexible, and insurance of some sort is almost universal among the higher classes. Nevertheless, the first two conditions are not permanent, and the last is costly. As social relations in America become fixed and the demands for longer training are fulfilled, the need for some adequate and reliable provision for old age will become more and more acute, and must be met. A beginning was made long ago in teachers' retirement funds of various kinds. More recent endowments for college instructors have given the move-

¹ Beier, *op. cit.*, pp. 998 ff.

ment a vigorous stimulus, and its progressive development seems assured.

The concrete form which a pension provision should assume is at best an intricate question. Proposals vary from a "straight" pension at the expense of the city or state to some form of compulsory insurance in which the teacher virtually pensions himself. But whatever the method and form of pension, it is first of all exceedingly important that now, while the field is relatively clear, the essential features of an effective plan should be worked out, and the administration of it undertaken not by cities, towns, or professional groups but by the states. Quite apart from its bearing on the national situation, this arrangement is necessary in the interests of educational unity and simplicity. The prospect of a permanent complex of varying systems and conditions in an undertaking that is essentially one and that requires the most competent supervision possible, is intolerable. Secondly, the arrangement should be such as not to impede free transfer of the teacher's activity from state to state without prejudice of claim. To accomplish this the state provisions must be practically identical. It is quite proper and desirable that a teacher should divide a long and active life among several states, and should receive from the state where he was last active the full amount of his pension. An annual clearing of such mutual obligations between states, each bearing its due proportion of a given pension allowance, would be a simple matter. Further, to secure the adoption of a uniform plan would not be a question of forty-eight separate campaigns. Let half a dozen leading states enter into an equitable pension agreement and the others would follow fast. In practical operation, such an interstate pension arrangement would be a powerful educational unifier. Not only national interests but a professional consciousness of national scope would arise out of a general

pension plan, especially if it supplemented the national scheme for examination and certification already outlined, and such a consciousness would in turn form the basis for unimagined progress.

Turning to matters directly concerning the school itself, three points may be mentioned wherein the German teacher has apparently distanced the American. The first of these is supervision. This is an art that is fully developed abroad, but which the American has combined with so many other things that its surpassing importance has been greatly ignored. The German *Schulrat* is selected for his profound knowledge of the work of instruction, and for a personality that secures results by means of criticism. He has served a long and thorough apprenticeship as Oberlehrer and Director, and that experience comes continually into play as inspector. It is of the greatest value to have a really qualified and active critic, aside from the principal, to vitalize the institution from without. The American school superintendent, on the other hand, is selected primarily for his business capacity and powers as an organizer. He too has been a teacher, and perhaps a principal, "but not too long" lest his other powers be dulled. He regards his work as wholly other than that of teacher or principal raised to a higher power. Material, political, and social concerns are likely to be uppermost, and what supervision he can give affords little of valuable instruction for the teacher. The teacher's object is, of course, to please him, but not necessarily through a sound and unobtrusive pedagogy.

There is room here for improvement. Not that the superintendent should reform; the best type of successful American school superintendent is a remarkable product, for his position is a remarkable combination of difficulties. To guide his schools through the tangle of local politics, to protect them from meddlesome interference, to readjust them

to ever-changing social conditions and maintain them as efficient, responsive servants of the community is the task for a genius, and should unquestionably be entrusted only to a single well-selected and highly-trained officer. There should, however, be at least one expert mind working solely at the educational problems of any given group of schools. Departmental supervisors are indispensable but are quite unequal to the work here demanded. A skillful referee for purely educational questions, in close touch and sympathy with the superintendent but relieved of his foreign interests, would be of incalculable value to many a school system. Occasionally an assistant superintendent exercises this function but in most cases the division of labor is made along wholly different lines and this pressing duty is left untouched. A position of this sort would possess the further merit of adding an important step to the ladder of promotion, at present excessively narrow and short. Could a teacher or principal feel that hard work and efficient service contributed directly to a better equipment for a higher position similar in kind, the gain would be considerable.

The second point to be noted concerns the use that is made of the teacher in the distribution of school work. It has been seen that the general course of development of the Oberlehrer has been from a one-sided to a many-sided knowledge of the pupil and his performance. He has gained a sense of responsibility for the child's total growth. This development has been greatly promoted by two features in organization: first, all teachers have two, and many have three subjects which they are prepared to teach; secondly, every teacher is expected to teach with equal readiness a boy of nine or a youth of nineteen and all the grades between. The first provision insures an instructor against becoming blind to interests outside of a single department, — an optical condition that is, alas, of exceedingly common occurrence in

over-specialized high schools. The second secures to each teacher a feeling for the natural sequence of a boy's mental development, and stimulates him to acquire a working genetic psychology. Both principles seem thoroughly sound, and fundamental to the most intelligent instruction. The enforcement of them depends, to be sure, on a broad and thorough preparation, and on a certain high conception of the teacher's work that is none too common. But it is precisely that conception which is the true test of a modern teacher. To the old type of teacher, the personal ego is writ large as lord in a comfortable little field on which no other trespasses; for the new builder of youth the ego tends to be supplanted by the boy before him, and no area within that lad's horizon can he afford to disregard. The four-year high school gives less opportunity than a nine-year *Gymnasium* for instruction over a wide range of ages, but the consideration has weight as an argument in favor of a six-year course where, through contact with pupils during the entire period of adolescence, a teacher may win a clear knowledge of their progressive needs. Diversity of subjects, however, is applicable anywhere if sufficient time be taken for preparation. Rural high schools and academies, to be sure, have necessarily made this diversity too great, but the present tendency of large city schools to carry specialization to excess is in serious need of a corrective.

The third excellent feature in German school practice that commends itself for emphasis is the action of the teachers in their collective capacity. The idea of the *Kollegium* looms large in the Oberlehrer's thoughts. To be *kollegialisch* in conduct is a cardinal virtue; it means to have a sense and disposition for "team work." In the *Gymnasium* it takes the place partly but not wholly of personal loyalty to the principal which may or may not be found in the American high school. The powers of the *Kollegium* in conference are

not great, but they are definite, and are jealously protected. In America, the practice in different schools varies widely. From the autocratic principal whose teachers' meetings are little more than office-hours to receive weekly reports from instructors, to the limp executive who shifts all responsibility to the "faculty," all degrees of participation are found. There is usually a broad, uncertain field of administration in which the real powers of the teaching staff are left in doubt. The experience of German schools would seem to show the wisdom of turning over certain powers once for all to the instructors and of holding them responsible for their administration. This, of course, assumes trained educators who understand their business; it substitutes for the military or commercial notion of one-man power, the legislative idea of a group of teachers, having equal powers and rights, and operating upon joint conclusions reached through conference. This is the form of organization in the German university and it tends to spread. The *Volksschullehrer* have even reached the point where they can seriously demand the abolition of the director's position altogether and the substitution of a "collegiate" form throughout, with an elective head. This is not, at present, a familiar notion in America. Teachers have lacked the necessary training and tenure to make them efficient colleagues in a strictly joint enterprise. It seems not unlikely, however, that the future may bring development in this direction. With increase in professional training it is to be hoped that administrative officers will see the wisdom of delegating greater opportunity for initiative and responsibility to their teachers. With tenure on a purely merit basis such a distribution of power would probably develop unsuspected strength through its challenge of professional ambition.

3. *Professional Organization and Advancement*

For the professional organizations of teachers in Prussia one who knows the facts can have, on the whole, only feelings of admiration. That these associations are not unattended by characteristic weaknesses has already been pointed out; but their spirit and fundamental purposes are good, and the results that have flowed from them to bless both schools and teachers are manifold. The successive phases of their activity thus far appear to possess a certain cumulative significance. Thus, their origin in times of economic pressure and unrest; their continued struggle, prolonged until a stable social equilibrium was achieved for the class which they represented; the gradual awakening of this class to the educational possibilities of their organization in the interests of the schools as well as of themselves;—these three clearly marked stages in the development are instructive. It must be admitted at once that the organization demands consideration for the class as a class without sole regard for the institution that it serves, but in the modern social order that is inevitable. It is unreasonable to expect a high level of personal service and ignore the great group to which that service has given common interests; it is impossible to do so after the group has come to a common consciousness and has organized. And organize it will and should, following the natural tendency of any similar social group that seeks the mutual understanding and collective growth of its members. Whatever the exaggerated activities of partisans of this or that school-type, or however unreasonable the demands of the organization may at times have been, no one can doubt that the steady social elevation of the German teaching class as a whole has been of immeasurable benefit to the schools; and to this end the organization has largely contributed. The problem is, therefore, to unify the organization and make

it fully representative, to see that it stands for the best professional ideals, and to concentrate its great strength upon these alone.

In America, the movement toward organization is still in its early stages; its features are angular and sometimes repulsive; but in the light of German experience the proper attitude toward this development on the part of all concerned in education is clear: it should unquestionably be that of sympathy, encouragement, and coöperation. An economic purpose may be at the core of the initial effort; the machinery for union may have been repeatedly set in motion in partisan interests; this, however, should be the greater reason for fashioning ultimately an organization that will serve and represent the whole group, an organization membership in which is the primary professional duty of each teacher. Such a representative body should tend to conserve the resources and vigor of the organization for the higher, professional concerns.

The present basis of union is the city system. Each city should have a live association offering such benefits that no secondary teacher could afford to withhold at least a formal adherence. Its meetings should be devoted, not to listening to "prominent speakers," or to social diversions, but to first-hand attack, through competent committees, on current, local school problems. The teachers in their organized capacity should be the most searching and convincing critics of any school administration; from them should spring "surveys" and "enquiries" in a continuous series, the results of which should be sufficiently accurate and stimulating to furnish the main source of educational legislation. Such activity ought to be warmly welcomed by school authorities even though it prove for them at times, uncomfortable: the Board or superintendent that can meet only by repression the just and well-founded criticism of those

directly concerned is not well chosen; it is certainly intolerable that teachers should be obliged to make the preservation of a passively "correct" attitude their first concern.

The question of professional advancement or extension of training is likewise a matter on which Prussia is qualified to offer profitable suggestions. Her experience and practice in this particular are especially rich, as has already been seen. Consciously fostered by the government, and now rapidly becoming the central motive of activity in the teachers' associations, the notion of continuous mental enrichment is securely fixed among secondary masters; it has become a habit. Each school has for its teachers a separate, well-chosen professional library to which additions are continually made, though the collection for the pupils often presents a forlorn appearance. The *Lehrerzimmer* is stocked with the best periodical literature in education, both general and departmental; and these aids are used. The assistance granted by the city and state in the form of tuitions or travel grants has already been described. It is thus possible for the Oberlehrer to keep in fresh contact with progress in his subjects, and occasionally to attend vacation courses or to make a prolonged study-tour without expense to himself. All this results from full official appreciation by intelligent authorities of the incomparable value of this mental attitude in the instructors of the nation.

To this point of view American practice has not yet attained. The bargaining spirit of the frontier still prevails. The entire burden of maintaining the quality of his scholarship rests with the individual, and no favorable provisions are made for this purpose. If he can "deliver the goods" at his own cost, his place is secure; if not, he is likely to retire after a more or less painful and uncertain period of inefficiency, unless a fixed tenure or misplaced sympathy bind him permanently to his position. The school authori-

ties assume no responsibility for having allowed him to become or remain what he is; it occurs to them to say only that it was "an unfortunate selection." Nothing can be surer than that a radical reform must be initiated in this direction, if American education is ever to achieve its purpose. The main stream of power and inspiration is being choked off at its very source. The apathy of school boards must be transformed into conviction that the most important thing of all, in school management, is to give teachers room and a chance to grow; with the dawning conception of what it means really to teach, the impulse within a young teacher to deepen and broaden is almost irresistible and must be kept free and productive. One of the greatest public benefactions that a munificent citizen could conceive would be a foundation of travel-grants to be offered to high school teachers for worthy studies of strictly school problems, and to be spent in the further investigation of such problems. American cities as well as German should have aid funds for advanced study. They should give all teachers free tuition at summer courses, and at least an indefinite furlough when they are able to do special work at their own expense.

It is to be hoped that, little by little, the better high schools may become stations for the investigation of their own peculiar problems by their own corps of teachers. The secondary teaching profession is developing its own science, and should be able to conduct studies of value on the spot. For that purpose, relief from part of the program would be a welcome opportunity for many progressive teachers even at a reduced salary. Men desirous of becoming principals or superintendents could thus get at problems of administration directly, or those seeking supervisorships in special branches could secure a training superior to the merely theoretical work offered in higher institutions. A school board can hardly be expected to grant favors for those

who use them as steps to change their work — to go from a high school to a college, for example; but where such efforts are intensive, and concerned directly with the school field, they could react only beneficially, both upon the work of the individual teacher and upon the school system as a whole.

Finally, in view of the Prussian example, one cannot resist the desire to associate the whole question of intellectual growth and progress in service with the organized body of teachers themselves. Who but they can conceive and expect to realize that ideal of self-enlargement which is the condition of all worth in work? Who but they can create the atmosphere they need, and win the public from its mediaeval notion of spiritual goods to a true and modern view? This is preëminently their task.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arnoldt, J. F. D. *Fr. Aug. Wolf in seinem Verhältnisse zum Schulwesen und zur Pädagogik.* 2 Bde. Braunschweig, 1861.
- Baumeister, A. *Handbuch der Erziehungslehre.* München, 1895.
- Beier, A. *Die höheren Schulen in Preussen und ihre Lehrer.* Halle, 1902.
- Beyer, O. W. *Zur Errichtung Pädagogischer Lehrstühle an unseren Universitäten.* Langensalza, 1894.
- Biedermann, K. *Deutsche Bildungszustände in der 2. Hälfte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts.* New York, 1905.
- Bretschneider und Bindseil. *Corpus Reformatorum.* 28 Bde. Halle, 1834.
- Budde, G. *Die Pädagogik der preussischen höheren Knabenschulen.* Langensalza, 1910.
- Burkhardt, K. A. H. *Geschichte der deutschen Kirchen und Schul-Visitationen im Zeitalter der Reformation.* Leipzig, 1879.
- Ebner, E. *Magister, Oberlehrer, Professoren. Wahrheit und Dichtung in Litteraturausschnitten aus fünf Jahrhunderten.* Nürnberg, (Koch), 1908.
- Erman und Horn. *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten.* Teubner, 1904.
- Eulenburg, F. *Der akademische Nachwuchs.* Leipzig, 1908.
- Eulenburg, F. *Die soziale Lage der Oberlehrer.* Leipzig, 1903.
- Farrington, F. E. *French Secondary Schools.* New York, 1910.
- Fischer, A. *Das alte Gymnasium und die neue Zeit.* Gr.-Lichterfelde, 1900.
- Fischer, K. *Geschichte des deutschen Volksschullehrerstandes.* Berlin, 1898.
- Forstemann, K. A. *Dr. Martin Luther's Tischreden oder Colloquia.* 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1844.
- Freytag, G. *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit.* 5. Aufl., 4 Bde., Leipzig, 1867.
- Frick, O. *Das Seminarium Praeceptorum an den Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle.* Halle, 1883.
- Fricke, K. *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Lehramts an den höheren Schulen.* Leipzig, 1903.

- Fries, W. *Die Ordnungen für die Prüfung, für die praktische Ausbildung und die Anstellung der Kandidaten des höheren Lehramts in Preussen.* Halle, 1909.
- Fries, W. *Die wissenschaftliche und praktische Vorbildung für das höhere Lehramt.* München, 1910.
- Grosse, R. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Oberlehrerstandes.* Leipzig, 1910.
- Hauts, J. F. *Geschichte der Neckarschule in Heidelberg.* Heidelberg, 1849.
- Heeren, A. H. L. *Chr. Gottlob Heyne biographisch dargestellt.* Göttingen, 1813.
- Heman, J. R. R. *Thomas Platters Selbstbiographie.* Gütersloh, 1882.
- Herbart, J. F. *Pädagogische Schriften.* 2 Bde. Leipzig, 1880.
- Herbst, W. *Johann Heinrich Voss.* 1-3. Leipzig, 1872.
- Heubaum, A. *Geschichte des deutschen Bildungswesens.* Berlin, 1905.
- Heymann, K. *Reglement für die Prüfungen der Kandidaten des höheren Schulamts in Preussen.* Berlin, 1877.
- Hue de Grais. *Handbuch der Verfassung und Verwaltung in Preussen und dem deutschen Reiche.* Berlin, 1906.
- Humboldt, W. v. *Gesammelte Schriften.* Berlin, 1903-9.
- Janssen, J. *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.* Freiburg i. B., 1883.
- Kaemmel, J. H. *Geschichte des deutschen Schulwesens im Übergange vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit.* Leipzig, 1882.
- Kehrbach, K. *Monumenta Germaniae Pädagogica.* Berlin, 1886.
- Keller, E. *Geschichte des preussischen Volksschulwesens.* Berlin, 1873.
- Kerschensteiner, G. *Grundfragen der Schulorganisation.* Teubner, 1909.
- Körte, W. *Leben und Studien F. A. Wolfs des Philologen.* 2 Bde. Essen, 1833.
- Lamprecht, K. *Deutsche Geschichte.* Berlin, 1902-4.
- Langbehn, J. *Rembrandt als Erzieher.* Leipzig, 1890.
- Lehman, R. *Erziehung und Erzieher.* Berlin, 1901.
- Lewin, H. *Geschichte der Entwicklung des preussischen Volksschule und der Förderung der Volksbildung durch die Hohenzollern.* Leipzig, 1910.
- Lexis, W. *Besoldungsverhältnisse der höheren Lehrer.* 1898.
- Lexis, W. *Die Reform des höheren Schulwesens in Preussen.* Halle, 1902.

- Lortzing, F. *Denkschrift über die Gleichstellung der Oberlehrer mit den Richtern.* Berlin, 1907.
- Mey, O. *Frankreichs Schulen.* Teubner, 1901.
- Morsch, H. *Das höhere Lehramt in Deutschland und Oesterreich.* Leipzig, 1910.
- Moser, M. *Der Lehrerstand im vorderösterreichischen Breisgau.* Berlin, 1908.
- Mühlmann, G. E. *Beiträge zur Gymnasialfrage.* Leipzig, 1872.
- Müller, J. *Vor- und früh-reformatorische Schulordnungen und Schulverträge.* Zschopau, 1885.
- Münch, W. *Der Geist des Lehramts.* Berlin, 1903.
- Münch, W. *Eltern, Lehrer und Schulen in der Gegenwart.* Berlin, 1906.
- Neigebaur, J. F. *Preussische Gymnasien und höhere Bürgerschulen.* Berlin, 1835.
- Norton, A. O. *Readings in the History of Education: Mediaeval Universities.* Cambridge, 1909.
- Oberle-Kösters. *Taschenbuch für den höheren Lehrerstand Preussens. Unter Mitwirkung der Del.-Konf.* Leipzig, 1912.
- Öhlert, A. *Die deutsche Schule und das klassische Altertum.* Hannover, 1891.
- Paulsen, F. *Der höhere Lehrerstand und seine Stellung in der gelehrten Welt.* Braunschweig, 1902.
- Paulsen, F. *Die deutschen Universitäten.* Asher-Berlin, 1902.
- Paulsen, F. *Die Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts.* 2. Aufl., Leipzig, 1896.
- Paulsen, F. *Die höheren Schulen Deutschlands und ihr Lehrerstand.* Braunschweig, 1904.
- Paulsen, F. *Die höheren Schulen und das Universitäts-Studium im 20. Jahrhundert.* Braunschweig, 1901.
- Paulsen, F. *Über die gegenwärtige Lage des höheren Schulwesens in Preussen.* Berlin, 1893.
- Petersilie, A. A. *Das öffentliche Unterrichtswesen im deutschen Reiche.* Leipzig, 1897.
- Praetorius, F. *Das niedere Schulwesen Lübecks im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.* Schönberg i. M., 1908.
- Recknagel, G. *Zur Berechtigungsfrage.* München, 1903.
- Reicke, E. *Der Gelehrte.* Leipzig, 1900.
- Reicke, E. *Lehrer und Unterrichtswesen.* Leipzig, 1901.
- Rein, W. *Am Ende der Schulreform?* Langensalza, 1893.

- Rein, W. *Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*. Langensalza, 1897.
- Rein, W. *Handbuch der praktischen Pädagogik*. 3. Aufl., Leipzig, 1894.
- Rein, W. *Pädagogische Studien*. Dresden, 1891-1898.
- Rethwisch, C. *Deutschlands höheres Schulwesen im 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin, 1893.
- Rissmann, R. *Geschichte des deutschen Lehrervereins*. Leipzig, 1908.
- Rönne, L. v. *Das Unterrichtswesen des preussischen Staates: eine Sammlung aller gesetzlichen Bestimmungen*. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1855.
- Schmid-Schrader. *Encyclopädie des gesamten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens*. Leipzig, 1887.
- Schmidt, K. A. *Geschichte der Erziehung*. Bde. I-V. Stuttgart, 1884.
- Schrader, W. *Die Verfassung der höheren Schulen*. Berlin, 1881.
- Schulmann, C. *Die Volksschule vor und nach Luther*. Trier, 1903.
- Speck, J. *Die wissenschaftliche Fortbildung des deutschen Oberlehrerstandes*. Leipzig, 1910.
- Suphan, B. J. G. Herder. *Sämmtliche Werke*. 1877.
- Thiersch, F. *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand des öffentlichen Unterrichts in den westlichen Staaten von Deutschland, in Holland, Frankreich und Belgien*. Bde. I-II. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1838.
- Thiersch, F. *Über gelehrte Schulen, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Bayern*. Stuttgart, 1826-29.
- Treitschke, H. G. *Die Zukunft des deutschen Gymnasiums*. Leipzig, 1890.
- Vollmer, W. *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*. 1870.
- Vormbaum, R. *Evangelische Schulordnungen*. 3 Bde., Gütersloh, 1860-64.
- Voss, P. *Die pädagogische Vorbildung zum höheren Lehramt in Preussen und Sachsen*. Halle, 1889.
- Wiese, L. *Das höhere Schulwesen in Preussen: historisch-statistische Darstellung*. Berlin, 1864-1902.
- Wiese, L. *Lebenserinnerungen und Amtserfahrungen*. Berlin, 1886.
- Wiese, L. *Verordnungen und Gesetze für die höheren Schulen in Preussen*. Berlin, 1886-88.
- Wirth. *Die evangelische Schule des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Schulprogramm, 1894, Realschule zu Meerane i. S.
- Wolf, F. A. *Kleine Schriften*. 2 Bde. Halle, 1869.
- Ziegler, T. *Die Fragen der Schulreform*. Stuttgart, 1891.

- Ziegler, T. *Geschichte der Pädagogik*. München, 1909.
 Ziehen, J. *Handbuch für Lehrer höherer Schulen*. Leipzig, 1906.
Archiv für die gesamte Psychologie.
Berichte des Berliner Gymnasiallehrer-Vereins.
Berichte des Brandenburgischen Philologen-Vereins.
Blätter für das höhere Schulwesen.
Deutsches Philologen-Blatt.
Dienstanweisung für die Direktoren und Lehrer an den höheren Lehranstalten für die männliche Jugend in Preussen. 1910.
Jahrbuch der höheren Schulen. 1910-11.
Jahresberichte über das höhere Schulwesen. 1891.
Korrespondenz-Blatt für den akademisch gebildeten Lehrerstand.
Kunze-Kalender für das höhere Schulwesen in Preussen.
Lehrpläne und Lehraufgaben für die höheren Schulen in Preussen.
Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte.
Mitteilungen des Vereinsverbandes akademisch gebildeter Lehrer Deutschlands.
Monatsschrift für höhere Schulen.
Mushacke-Kalender des Schulwesens für ganz Deutschland.
 "Neue Bahnen."
Pädagogischer Jahresbericht.
Pädagogisches Archiv.
Pädagogisches Jahrbuch. 1878-1885.
Pädagogisches Wochenblatt.
Protokolle der preussischen Delegierten-Konferenzen.
Satzungen des Berliner Gymnasiallehrer-Vereins.
Unterrichts-Kommission der Gesellschaft deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte. Verhandlungen.
Verhandlungen der 1. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner.
Verhandlungen des allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologen-Verbandes.
Verhandlungen über Fragen des höheren Unterrichts. 1891.
Wünsche der sächsischen Lehrerschaft zu der Neugestaltung des Volksschulgesetzes. 1910.
Zeitschrift für pädagogische Psychologie und experimentelle Pädagogik.
Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preussen.